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Heroes of the cross



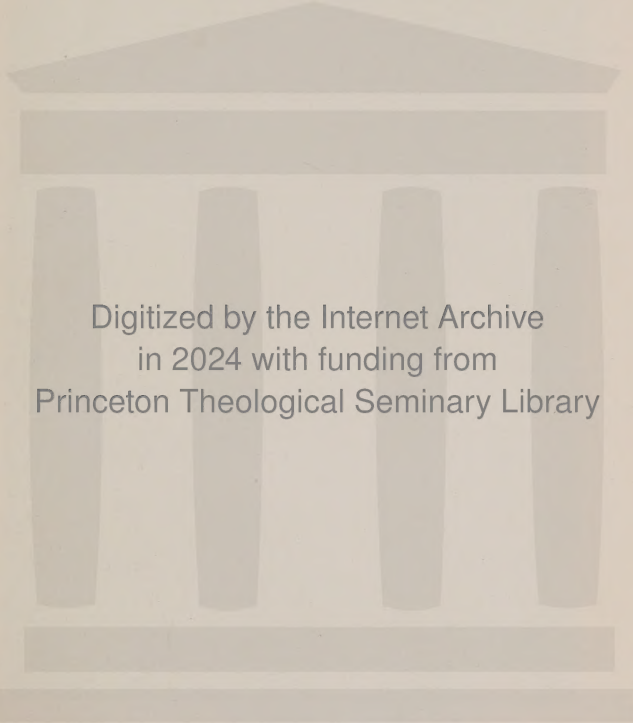






# Heroes of the Cross



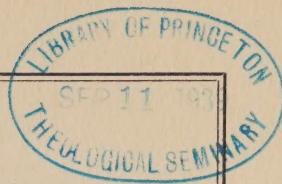


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Heroic group by J. E. Frazer on the northeast pylon of the Michigan Avenue Bridge at the Chicago River with French Soldier and Franciscan friar, typifying the hardy explorer and the pioneer missionary.



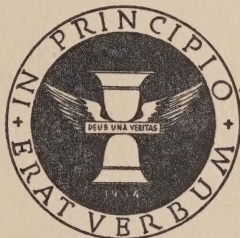
# HEROES OF THE CROSS

The Franciscan Martyrs of North America

BY  
Marion A. Habig, O.F.M.  
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Author of  
Maggie, Pioneering in China,  
The Franciscan Père Marquette, etc.

REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION  
WITH ONE MAP AND SIX ILLUSTRATIONS



FORTUNY'S  
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# HEROES OF THE CROSS

By MARION A. HABIG, O.F.M.

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FIRST EDITION

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To

*those intrepid heroes of the Cross, valiant knights  
of the apostolic Francis, who nobly sacrificed  
their life-blood to secure for the North-American  
continent the priceless blessings of Christian  
civilization!*

IMPRIMI POTEST:

FR. OPTATUS LOEFFLER, O.F.M.

*Minister Provincial*

IMPRIMATUR:

† JAMES A. GRIFFIN

*Bishop of Springfield in Illinois*

November 1, 1938.

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## Heroes of the Cross





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## FOREWORD

The real heroes of history are frequently neglected, and notorious scoundrels get most of the attention. This strange anomaly of the art of writing is sometimes defended on the score that the unscrupulous conduct of the latter provides scenes of dramatic moment, while their unethical exploits can be recounted in such a way as to demonstrate that "crime does not pay". Some there are, who seem to regard history merely as the record of one long succession of bloody battles and ruthless conquests, whose sole or principal purpose was the self-aggrandizement of the conquerors at the expense of the conquered. This has been true particularly of English writers on colonial Hispanic America, though there are many modern historians of that period who have found much that is worth-while. They have discovered that Las Casas' writings contain gross exaggerations; and they agree with the Franciscan, Motolinia, a contemporary of Las Casas and no less a champion and benefactor of the Indians, who wrote: "I know not why Las Casas wishes to condemn a hundred for what one did, or why he wishes to attribute to a thousand the deeds of ten, or why he slanders all who have been here, or where he found reason to condemn so many good men because of the few wicked ones."

Whatever may be said about the *conquistadores*, there was from the beginning a group of men in the Spanish colonies of the New World, and also in other colonies,

about whose nobility of character and unselfishness of purpose there can be no doubt; and these men were the missionaries who everywhere planted the Cross and civilized the natives, particularly those who sacrificed their lives in the attempt to carry the light of the Christian faith to the aborigines who were immersed in the darkness of paganism. If it is scenes of dramatic interest and stories of genuine heroism that are desired, here, in the labors and achievements of the missionaries and martyrs, they will be found in abundance.

These truly great men accomplished the most amazing tasks by reason of their unwearied patience, their enduring charity, their undaunted perseverance. They were heroes in the true sense of the word, forgetting themselves in order to bring genuine happiness to others. They came not to seek gold but to save souls. They sought not to acquire fame, but to spend themselves in the service of God and God's creatures. They were prompted by true Christian charity which was devoid of all selfish interest and ambition—a charity which caused them to suffer cheerfully untold sacrifices and hardships in order to share the benefits of the Christian faith with primitive peoples.

Their splendid efforts were eventually crowned with success, for they held the key to the solution of life's problems. They recognized in the lowliest human being a child of God, endowed with an immortal soul, redeemed by the Blood of Christ, having God-given rights and duties, and destined for eternal bliss in Heaven. They realized that the goods of this world as well as the sufferings of this life should serve as stepping stones to a glorious hereafter.

Hence they were able to rise above mere human considerations; hence they were able to impart genuine peace and happiness to those who listened to their message;

hence they were able to brave the dangers of death, of shipwreck, of disease, with an astounding fearlessness. Yes, they even desired to pour out their life's blood in the service of their neighbor and of God.

It is with such men and such events that the present little work concerns itself. Read in part at the annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference in 1936, the original paper was reprinted as a pamphlet in a very limited edition, principally to keep alive the interest that had been aroused in the cause of these martyrs as well as to enable students of history to call the author's attention to any errors they might detect.

The first edition was little more than a sketch, though even in that form the author had found it necessary to revise it again and again before it could be presented as a satisfactory account. For that reason he asked that corrections and suggestions for the improvement of the work should be sent to him. That request led to some valuable historical findings; and these have been incorporated into the present edition. Special attention is given also to those martyrs who are the only ones in single states, so that the pages which are devoted to an individual martyr form a worth-while chapter. Having promised to present a fuller treatment of this subject in the near future, the author asks that this edition be accepted, at least for the present, in fulfillment of the promise made.

Though it has been thoroughly revised, considerably enlarged, and greatly enhanced by a number of illustrations, parts of this work are still no more than an outline. Since the original pamphlet, however, received such a warm welcome, and since the additional material desired, because of unavoidable circumstances, will not be gathered probably until some years have elapsed, it was thought advisable not to delay the publication of this book. The author is

confident that it will not prove altogether disappointing; on the contrary, he is of the opinion that many will prefer a small and concise work to a bulky volume.

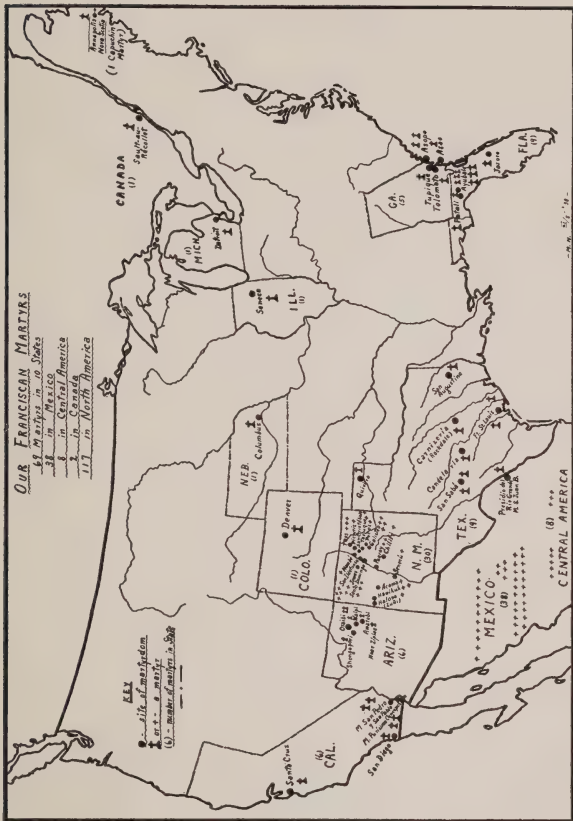
Obedient to the decrees of Pope Urban and other Sovereign Pontiffs, the author wishes it to be understood, that he is in no way anticipating the judgment of the Church when he speaks of the holiness of those about whom he has written.

To all who in any way have assisted him in the preparation and publication of this modest volume, he is deeply indebted and sincerely grateful.

THE AUTHOR

November 8, 1938

Quincy College, Quincy, Ill.







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# I

## INTRODUCTION

### A SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT

When the Franciscan order rounded out seven hundred years of missionary activity in 1919, a European friar, Father Erhard Schlund, O.F.M., wrote: "Should anyone attempt to present a detailed account of Franciscan missions, a voluminous history of martyrs would be the result, even if such were not the avowed purpose." The truth of these words became manifest in a measure, when at the Vatican Missionary Exposition in 1925 the Franciscans exhibited a richly illuminated manuscript listing the names of more than a thousand uncanonized friars who crowned their apostolate among heathen peoples with the supreme sacrifice of their life-blood, twenty-eight of them during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Father Schlund's statement was further corroborated by Father Leonard Lemmens' German outline history of Franciscan missions which appeared in 1929.<sup>(1)</sup>

Very appositely Henrion in his *Histoire Generale de Missions Catholiques*, employs the phrase "lavish with its blood," to characterize the Franciscan order as a missionary force in the Church. It is truly remarkable how in the Old World as well as in the New, and in our own day as in the past, the sons of St. Francis have always distinguished

themselves by the fearlessness and eagerness with which they braved the danger of death to carry the Gospel tidings to those groping in darkness. Among all the countries of the world which have been watered by the blood of Franciscan martyrs, Palestine, the homeland of the Saviour, seems to hold the first place with as many as 158 martyrs, not including those who suffered shipwreck or died as victims of a pestilence.<sup>(2)</sup> In Ireland, during the years from 1540 to 1707, as many as 107 Franciscan friars died for their faith.<sup>(3)</sup> In the Philippines, where more than 4,000 Franciscans toiled as missionaries during the period from 1577 to 1897, 72 of their number won the martyr's crown.<sup>(4)</sup> And our own North America counts no less than 117 Franciscan martyrs.

The story of the Franciscan martyrs of North America is one of the brightest chapters in the history of the continent—a story of dauntless courage and inspiring heroism, of genuine greatness and wholehearted devotion to the noblest of causes. As a composite picture it is really overwhelming in its extent and magnitude; it conveys some idea too of the still greater extent and magnitude of Franciscan missions in North America. Other religious orders have likewise labored valiantly in various sections of the same area; but if we consider the pioneers in the field, the extent and duration of the missions, and the number of their personnel, the Franciscans undoubtedly hold the foremost position in the missionary annals of North America.

Lest this statement be ignored as not founded on facts, it will be well to add here some comparative statistics for all Spanish America. Professor Rippey writes: "At the time of their expulsion the Jesuits alone are said to have had 717,000 neophytes in their establishments. All the other orders combined probably did not have so many; but there must have been at least a million Indians in the missions

of Spanish America in 1767." (5) On the preceding page, note 3, he tells us that the above figure is taken from Brabo, *Expulsión de los Jesuitas*, and adds more definite statistics from the same source; namely, the total number of Jesuits in America at the time of their expulsion was 2,260, and the number of their colleges, residences, and missions, 191. (6) Fortunately, figures are available regarding the Franciscans from the year 1786; and they show that the Franciscans actually had more than twice as many men and three times as many "colleges, residences, and missions" as the Jesuits. It is true, the Franciscans in some missions took the place of the Jesuits when they were banished; but that merely accounts in some measure for the fact that with twice as many men they had three, rather than two, times as many "colleges, residences, and missions" as the Jesuits had shortly before, at the time of their expulsion.

The statistics for the Franciscans are taken from the most trustworthy source possible, a work published by the Most Reverend Father Manuel Truxillo, "actual Comisario general de Indias de la regular Observancia de N. P. S. Francisco." (7) The figures he presents for the Franciscans in Spanish America are as follows: total number of friars, 4,838; total number of apostolic colleges, friaries, and missions, 668. The total number of missions alone was 438, of which 211 were in charge of 17 different Franciscan provinces and 227 in the care of 17 apostolic colleges. The figure for the friaries includes only the *conventos*, not the *vicarias*; and that for the missions does not include the *doctrinas*.

Professor Rippy, however, is not the only one who has made a statement such as the one quoted above; others make even more sweeping statements when they discuss the Jesuits in Spanish America. (8) All this shows how little known is the missionary history of the Franciscans

in Spanish America as compared with that of the Jesuits, even by eminent historians of Hispanic America. The fact that a Franciscan calls attention to a current impression regarding his order that is altogether false and unfounded should not make any difference to those who are in search of the true facts of history.

Like the history of Franciscan missions, so also that of the Franciscan martyrs of North America is but imperfectly known. Several attempts have been made to draw up an American martyrology;<sup>(9)</sup> but thus far a definite and satisfactory roster has not appeared, at least not of the Franciscan martyrs.

### METHOD FOLLOWED

In the present work it will be the writer's endeavor to determine exactly the place, time, and manner of the death of each one of the Franciscan martyrs of North America, and in some instances it will be possible to recount the story of individual martyrs more in detail.

Included in our list of martyrs are those only who have certainly suffered a violent death at the hands of their fellowmen—Indians, in all cases except six—while engaged in the work of propagating the Faith or exercising the sacred ministry. Thus many who are included in other martyrologies are excluded from our list; namely, those who have died in consequence of natural causes, for example, shipwreck, hunger, hardships; also those who were merely wounded or made captives for some time; and those of whom we have no definite or reliable information. All these will be mentioned only in passing.

### DEFINITION OF MARTYR

When we speak of martyrs, therefore, we are not using the term in the strictly canonical sense. Whether or

not the missionary heroes enumerated are martyrs in this sense, is a matter for the Church to decide. It is the historian's task merely to gather the facts needed for such a decision. In doing so, however, it is well for him to bear in mind what the Church understands by martyrdom. Briefly, martyrdom in the canonical sense signifies death suffered in testimony of the true Faith (or inflicted because of hatred of the Faith), and, in the case of adults, suffered patiently (accepted without resistance)—*mors, in odium fidei illata, et patienter tolerata*. With these three conditions of martyrdom in mind, the writer has for the present study limited the term martyr as explained above.

### DEFINING "NORTH AMERICA"

The proper name "North America" is used very loosely at times. Correctly used, it includes the entire continent, Alaska, Canada, the United States, Mexico, and the countries south of Mexico as far as and including Panama. The latter are included in the general term "Central America"; but Central America is not distinct from North America, it is merely its southernmost part. Webster's Dictionary defines Central America as "the southern part of North America, between Mexico and South America." For this reason, our honor roll of Franciscan martyrs of North America will include the martyrs of the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Central America. Special attention, however, will be given to those of the United States.

The list which follows is arranged in chronological order; at the end of this study we shall give another in which the arrangement is based on territorial divisions.

#### A. THE UNITED STATES

- |                              |            |      |
|------------------------------|------------|------|
| 1. Fr. Juan de Padilla ..... | Texas      | 1544 |
| 2. Bro. Luis de Ubeda .....  | New Mexico | 1544 |



3.	Fr. Juan de Santa Maria .....	New Mexico	1581
4.	Fr. Francisco Lopez .....	New Mexico	1582
5.	Bro. Agustin Rodriguez .....	New Mexico	1582
6.	Fr. Pedro de Corpa .....	Georgia	1597
7.	Fr. Miguel de Auñón .....	Georgia	1597
8.	Bro. Antonio de Badajoz .....	Georgia	1597
9.	Fr. Blas de Rodriguez .....	Georgia	1597
10.	Fr. Francisco Verascula .....	Georgia	1597
11.	Fr. Pedro de Miranda .....	New Mexico	1631
12.	Fr. Francisco Letrado .....	New Mexico	1632
13.	Fr. Martin de Arvide .....	Arizona	1632
14.	Fr. Francisco Porras .....	Arizona	1633
15.	16. 17. Three unnamed Franciscans .....	Florida	1647
18.	Fr. Pedro de Ávila y Ayala .....	New Mexico	1672
19.	Fr. Alonso Gil de Ávila .....	New Mexico	1675
20.	Fr. Juan Bernal .....	New Mexico	1680
21.	Fr. Domingo de Vera .....	New Mexico	1680
22.	Fr. Fernando de Velasco .....	New Mexico	1680
23.	Fr. Juan Bautista Pio .....	New Mexico	1680
24.	Fr. Tomás de Torres .....	New Mexico	1680
25.	Fr. Luis de Morales .....	New Mexico	1680
26.	Bro. Antonio Sánchez de Pro .....	New Mexico	1680
27.	Fr. Matías Rendón .....	New Mexico	1680
28.	Fr. Antonio de Mora .....	New Mexico	1680
29.	Bro. Juan de la Pedrosa .....	New Mexico	1680
30.	Fr. Manuel Tinoco .....	New Mexico	1680
31.	Fr. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana .....	New Mexico	1680
32.	Fr. Juan de Talabán .....	New Mexico	1680
33.	Fr. José de Montesdoca .....	New Mexico	1680
34.	Fr. Juan de Jesús .....	New Mexico	1680
35.	Fr. Lucas Maldonado .....	New Mexico	1680
36.	Fr. Juan del Val .....	New Mexico	1680
37.	Fr. José de Trujillo .....	Arizona	1680
38.	Fr. José Espeleta .....	Arizona	1680
39.	Fr. Agustín de Santa María .....	Arizona	1680
40.	Fr. José de Figueroa .....	Arizona	1680
41.	Fr. Gabriel de la Ribourde .....	Illinois	1680
42.	Fr. Zénobe Membré .....	Texas	1689
43.	Fr. Maxim Le Clercq .....	Texas	1689
44.	Fr. Francisco de Jesus Maria Casañas .....	New Mexico	1696
45.	Fr. José de Arbizu .....	New Mexico	1696

46.	Fr. Antonio Carbonel .....	New Mexico	1696
47.	Fr. Francisco Corvera .....	New Mexico	1696
48.	Fr. Antonio Moreno .....	New Mexico	1696
49.	Fr. Luis Sanchez .....	Florida	1697
50.	Fr. Juan de Parga .....	Florida	1704
51.	Fr. Manuel de Mendoza .....	Florida	1704
52.	Fr. Domingo Criado .....	Florida	1704
53.	Fr. Tiburcio de Osorio .....	Florida	1704
54.	Fr. Agustin Ponze de Leon .....	Florida	1704
55.	Fr. Constantin Delhalle .....	Michigan	1706
56.	Fr. Juan Minguez .....	Nebraska	1720
57.	Bro. José Pita .....	Texas	1721
58.	Fr. Francisco Xavier Silva .....	Texas	1749
59.	Fr. José Francisco Ganzábal .....	Texas	1752
60.	Fr. Alonso Giraldo de Terreros .....	Texas	1758
61.	Fr. José Santiesteban .....	Texas	1758
62.	Fr. Luis Jayme .....	California	1775
63.	Fr. Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés .....	California	1781
64.	Fr. Juan Antonio Barreneche .....	California	1781
65.	Fr. Juan Marcello Diaz .....	California	1781
66.	Fr. José Matias Moreno .....	California	1781
67.	Fr. Andrés Quintana .....	California	1812
68.	Fr. Antonio Diaz de Leon .....	Texas	1834
69.	Fr. Leo Heinrichs .....	Colorado	1908

*Doubtful:*

1.	Fr. Juan de la Cruz .....	New Mexico	1544
2.	Fr. Pedro de Ortega .....	New Mexico	1631
3.	Fr. Domingo de Saraóz .....	New Mexico	1631
4.	Fr. Andrés Gutierrez .....	Arizona	1633
5.	Bro. Cristóbal de la Concepcion .....	Arizona	1633
6.	Fr. Leonard Vatieer .....	Wisconsin	1713
7.	Fr. Francisco Pujol .....	California	1801

*Perished on journeys:*

1.	Bishop-elect Juan Suarez .....	Texas	1529
2.	Bro. Juan de Palos .....	Texas	1529
3.	Fr. Juan Torres .....	Lower Mississippi Valley	1542 ca.
4-11 (?)	Missionaries of Apalache Indians in Florida, drowned on way to Havana ....	Cuba	1657
12.	Bro. Luis de Montesdoca perished in prairie fire .....	Texas	1718



*Wounded:*

- |    |  |         |      |
|----|--|---------|------|
| 1. | Fr. Francisco de Ávila and captive for<br>10 mos. .... | Georgia | 1597 |
| 2. | Fr. Miguel Molina .....                                | Texas   | 1758 |

## B. CANADA

- |    |   |                   |       |
|----|---|-------------------|-------|
| 1. | Fr. Nicholas Viel .....   | Sault au Récollet | 1625  |
| 2. | Fr. Leonard of Chartres (Capuchin)<br>Port Royal (Annapolis, N. S.) | 1654 or 1655      |       |
|    | (Fr. Guillaume Poulain, tortured by Iroquois                        |                   | 1619) |
|    | (Fr. Bernardin Sebastien, perished in Acadia woods                  |                   | 1623) |

## C. MEXICO

- |     |   |                 |           |
|-----|---|-----------------|-----------|
| 1.  | Bro. Juan Calero .....                    | Jalisco         | 1541      |
| 2.  | Fr. Antonio de Cuellar .....              | Jalisco         | 1541      |
| 3.  | Fr. Francisco Lorenzo .....               | Jalisco         | 1560      |
| 4.  | Bro. Juan, companion of Fr. Lorenzo ..... | Jalisco         | 1560      |
| 5.  | Fr. Bernardo Cossin .....                 | Durango         | 1564      |
| 6.  | An unnamed Franciscan, old man .....      | Durango         | 1564      |
| 7.  | An unnamed Franciscan, young man .....    | Durango         | 1564      |
| 8.  | Fr. Juan de Tapia .....                   | Durango         | post 1564 |
| 9.  | Bro. Lucas, companion of Fr. Tapia .....  | Durango         | post 1564 |
| 10. | Fr. Francisco Donzel .....                | Jalisco         | 1567      |
| 11. | Fr. Pedro de Burgos .....                 | Jalisco         | 1567      |
| 12. | Fr. Pablo de Acevedo .....                | Sinaloa         | 1567      |
| 13. | Bro. Juan de Herrera .....                | Sinaloa         | 1567      |
| 14. | 15. Two unnamed Franciscans .....         | Sinaloa         | 1567      |
| 16. | An unnamed Franciscan .....               | Coahuila        | 1567      |
| 17. | Fr. Juan Serrato .....                    | Zacatecas       | 1580      |
| 18. | Fr. Luis de Villalobos .....              | Zacatecas       | 1582      |
| 19. | Fr. Andrés de Ayala .....                 | Jalisco         | 1585      |
| 20. | Fr. Francisco Gil .....                   | Jalisco         | 1585      |
| 21. | Fr. Andrés de la Puebla .....             | Durango         | 1586      |
| 22. | Fr. Juan del Rio .....                    | San Luis Potosi | 1586      |
| 23. | Fr. Martín de Altamirano .....            | Nuevo Leon      | 1606      |
| 24. | Fr. Pedro Gutiérrez .....                 | Durango         | 1616      |
| 25. | Fr. Diego Delgado .....                   | Yucatan         | 1624      |
| 26. | Bro. Juan Henriquez .....                 | Yucatan         | 1624      |
| 27. | Fr. Tomás Zigarrán .....                  | Chihuahua       | 1645      |
| 28. | Fr. Francisco Labado .....                | Chihuahua       | 1645      |

29.	Fr. Francisco Montero .....	S. Luis Potosi	post 1647
30.	Fr. Manuel Beltran .....	Chihuahua	1684
31.	Fr. Esteban Benítez .....	Durango	1686
32.	Fr. Ramiro Alvarez .....	Durango	1704
33.	Fr. Diego Hevia .....	Durango	1704
34.	Fr. Juan Chrysostomo Gil de Bernave .....	Sonora	1773
35.	Fr. Felipe Guillen .....	Sonora	1778
36.	Fr. Junipero de la Vega .....	Michoacan	1928
37.	Bro. Humilde Martinez .....	Michoacan	1928
38.	Fr. José Perez .....	Guanajuato	1928

## D. CENTRAL AMERICA

1.	Fr. Estevan Bertelete .....	Honduras	1612
2.	Fr. Juan de Monteagudo .....	Honduras	1612
3.	Fr. Cristóbal Martinez Puerta .....	Honduras	1623
4.	Fr. Benito López .....	Honduras	1623
5.	Bro. Juan de Baena .....	Honduras	1623
6.	Fr. Rodrigo Perez .....	Costa Rica	1627
7.	Fr. Pablo de Rebullida .....	Costa Rica	1709
8.	Fr. Juan Antonio de Zamora .....	Costa Rica	1709

Summary:	United States .....	69
	Canada .....	2
	Mexico .....	38
	Central America .....	8
	North America .....	117

Before we discuss the martyrs whose names appear on the above roster, it will be of interest to prefix some remarks on the protomartyrs of the New World. From an account of Fra Roman Pane, one of the missionaries who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage (1493) we learn that the first martyrs in the New World were three native neophytes, apparently on the island of Haiti, or Española as it was then called, who were killed by their pagan countrymen and died declaring: "I am a servant of God!"<sup>(10)</sup>

On the island of Española the first Franciscan province in the New World, that of Santa Cruz, was established in

1505; and from the friaries on this island, missionaries ventured into the Caribbean and visited many of the other islands. On one of these missionary expeditions in 1516, three lost their lives at the hands of cannibal Caribs, Fathers Hernando de Salcedo, Diego Botello, and an unnamed friar.<sup>(11)</sup>

These martyrs are sometimes mentioned as the first European martyrs in the New World; I myself have made this mistake. But already a decade before, there had been two Franciscan martyrs on the coast of Brazil; and to these goes the distinction of having been the first missionaries from the Old World who became martyrs in the New.

#### FRANCISCANS, PROTOMARTYRS OF NEW WORLD

After Cabral had landed on the coast of Brazil in 1500 at Easter time, he sent one of his ships with Caspar de Lemos back home to Lisbon with the news of the discovery. (There are good reasons for thinking that this was not an accidental discovery as has been generally believed.)<sup>(12)</sup> King Emmanuel of Portugal then sent to Brazil a ship with Amerigo Vespucci; and on board were also two Franciscans of the Province of San Antonio, whose names unfortunately have not been recorded. A colony was established at Porto Seguro, and there the friars built a little church in honor of St. Francis and for two years made it the center of their labors among the Portuguese as well as natives. Incited by their medicine men, the latter then rose in a conspiracy and attacked the mission, killing the Franciscans and the colonists who sought to protect them. It was on June 19, 1505, that the two missionaries were murdered in their little church. A few of the Portuguese escaped, but were afterwards attracted, when they saw two Indians, dressed in the habits of the friars, walking along the seashore. Mistaking them for

the Franciscans, they approached unsuspectingly and were likewise killed. Two unnamed Franciscans are, therefore, the protomartyrs of the New World, as well as of Brazil and the mainland.<sup>(13)</sup>

FRANCISCANS, PROTOMARTYRS OF MEXICO,  
UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Remarkable is the fact that not only the protomartyrs of the New World and of South America, but also the first martyrs of Mexico, the United States, and Canada, were all spiritual sons of St. Francis. In North America it was particularly within the confines of what is now the United States that the blood of martyrs flowed freely. With as many as 69 Franciscan martyrs in 10 different States, there were more here than in all the rest of North America. It was especially the southern states from Georgia to California that were the scene of these martyrdoms; but they were not the only ones. We shall discuss these martyrs according to states, beginning with California, then going east and taking the other states one by one, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Florida, Georgia, then north and westward, Illinois, Michigan, Nebraska, Colorado, thus concluding the survey with our only modern martyr.

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## II

### CALIFORNIA

#### LUIS JAYME

The first of the six Franciscans who were martyred on California soil was Fr. Luis Jayme. He was murdered by pagan Indians at Mission San Diego, situated about six miles from the mouth of the river of the same name, during the night preceding the 4th of November, 1775. A cross near the present restored Mission San Diego marks the site of his martyrdom. Fr. Engelhardt believes the fact that the Fathers had been fairly successful in winning the local Indians—so-called Diegueños, belonging to Yuman stock—from paganism may have provoked the sorcerers and other chief men. During the night mentioned about one thousand armed pagans surrounded the mission, looted the sacristy and storehouse, and set fire to the buildings. In the attack Fr. Luis was killed and also the blacksmith, José Romero, while the carpenter, Urselino, was mortally wounded. When Fr. Junipero Serra, who was at San Carlos Mission, heard of the disaster, he exclaimed: "Thanks be to God! that land is now watered; now the conversion of the Diegueños will be accomplished." Another instance showing how strikingly similar the Apostle of California was to St. Francis himself! Though all believed it unnecessary to pray for their martyred confrère,



every missionary in California, according to a previous agreement, offered up twenty holy Masses for him. To the viceroy in Mexico Fr. Serra wrote afterwards that far from being disheartened the missionaries rather envied their martyred companion, Fr. Luis.<sup>(14)</sup>

#### FOUR VICTIMS OF THE YUMAS

The next four martyrs were all killed in an uprising of the Yumas on the Colorado River in the southeastern corner of the State: Fathers Juan M. Diaz and José M. Moreno at Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, situated about three miles north of Fort Yuma, on July 17, 1781; and Fathers Francisco H. Garcés and Juan A. Barreneche, two days later near Mission Purisima Concepcion, which occupied the site of old Fort Yuma. Hitherto it was generally held that the former of these missions was situated some eight or ten miles below the latter, and Mooney even thought that possibly it lay across the present Mexican border.<sup>(15)</sup> But Fr. Felix Pudlowski, O.F.M., of St. Thomas Mission at Ft. Yuma, Calif., has definitely demonstrated that the mission in question was three miles north, and not south, of the other.

The insurgent Indians attacked both missions on the same day, and at San Pedro y San Pablo completed their destructive work on the first day, the Fathers there being among the first victims. Fr. Moreno's head was cut off with an ax. At Purisima Concepcion Fr. Barreneche had celebrated holy Mass and Fr. Garcés had just finished reading the epistle, when the wild yells of the Indians were heard on all sides. While the corporal was being beaten to death, the youthful Fr. Barreneche fearlessly threw himself into the melée and gave the dying man absolution, and then escaped into the church. Leaving the church unmolested for the present, the Indians crossed

the river to the camp of Captain Rivera and his seven companions. After a gallant defense which lasted till noon of the 18th, all were massacred. Brave young Fr. Barreneche had slipped out from the church in the afternoon of the 17th to administer the last sacraments to some dying Spaniards; and in the afternoon of the 18th all who had sought refuge in the church decided to make good their escape as well as they could, each one shifting for himself. Fr. Barreneche again helped a dying soldier, swimming across a deep lagoon to reach him. Fr. Garcés afterwards followed him; and the two missionaries found refuge in the hut of an Indian couple. The next day, however, searching Indians found the Fathers and beat them to death with clubs and sticks.

Five months later the bodies of Fathers Diaz and Moreno were found still intact on the spot where they had been slain; those of Fathers Garcés and Barreneche were found likewise incorrupt beneath a little oasis covered with grass and flowers. The remains of the missionaries were taken to Tubutama in Sonora below the Arizona border and buried on the epistle side of the altar.<sup>(16)</sup> In 1794 they were transferred to the Apostolic College of Querétaro and buried in the church there. On the latter occasion Fr. Diego M. Bringas de Manzaneda preached a sermon which was published in Madrid in 1819.<sup>(17)</sup>

Today on a bluff at Fort Yuma, California, and facing the city of Yuma, Arizona, stands a remarkable monument to Father Garcés, described by Richman as a marble friar grasping a tall cross and looking down on kneeling Indians who seemingly ask his blessing, while a small and exceedingly cheerful angel holds up the martyr's palm. At the present writing another statue of Father Garcés is being sculptured; it will be placed in the center of the traffic circle at Highway No. 99, in Bakersfield, California, which is already known as Garcés Circle.



According to Richman Fr. Garcés should be ranked with Fr. Kino both as an adventurous explorer and good chronicler; and McClintock says he deserves above all others to be styled the Apostle of Arizona. Lummis computes the number of desert miles that Fr. Garcés traversed in his five *entradas*<sup>(18)</sup> to have been more than five thousand, and finds that nothing in the pithy journal is more impressive than its silence about the inevitable sufferings of the pioneer traveler. He remarks also: "Friar Garcés was a typical Franciscan of his day—for thirteen years a frontier apostle among the Indian tribes of the Southwest, a tireless and fearless explorer, and a chronicler of great importance to the historian. In the years when our colonies were approaching separation from England, Garcés was pioneering the trackless desert of Arizona and California."<sup>(19)</sup>

In passing we may mention a missionary of whose martyrdom we are not certain: Fr. Francisco Pujol. He had come to Mission San Miguel from that of San Antonio only a few weeks previously, when he died in February, 1801, after enduring acute pains. It is probable that he was poisoned.<sup>(20)</sup>

#### ANDRES QUINTANA

The last of the six California martyrs was Fr. Andrés Quintana. On October 12, 1812, he was found dead in bed at Mission Santa Cruz on the north side of Monterey Bay. At the time, after a superficial examination, his death was pronounced a natural one; but the truth came to light two years later, when it was learned that he had been the victim of Indian treachery. Several Indians had conspired to murder the missionary. They called him out on a pretended sick call, though he was himself ill; and while he was hurrying to the supposedly dying person, they

waylaid and killed him by hanging him from a tree at what is now the corner of Mora and Quintana Streets in Santa Cruz, "just where the track of the Felton Railway passes now, not many yards from the tunnel."<sup>(21)</sup> Corroborating evidence was found when the body was exhumed and examined. The conspirators were found guilty and the case was referred to the viceroy, whose decision came only in 1816. Meanwhile two had died in prison; the rest were sentenced to two hundred lashes and compelled to work in chains from two to ten years. It is said that only one outlived the punishment. The charge that Fr. Quintana had treated the Indians cruelly is altogether unfounded. Governor Solá wrote to the viceroy on June 2, 1816: "I have set on foot the most secret and closest investigations. . . . I have learned that he was a very pious missionary."<sup>(22)</sup>



*Cross near Mission San Diego, marking the spot where Father Luis Jayme was killed by the Indians.*



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### III

#### ARIZONA

During the Spanish period the country of the Moqui Indians<sup>(23)</sup> in northern Arizona belonged to New Mexico, while the southern part belonged to Sonora or Pimeria Alta. The villages of the Moquis were no doubt indential with the seven towns of the province of Tusayan toward the west or northwest of Cibola (Zuñi), which Pedro de Tobar and Fr. Juan de Padilla, protomartyr of the United States, visited in the summer of 1540 by order of Coronado. Overcoming the opposition of the Indians, the visitors remained with them for several days, and learned from them about the Grand Cañon, which Cardenas was later on directed to visit.<sup>(24)</sup>

#### MARTIN DE ARVIDE

The six martyrs of Arizona all lost their lives in the territory of the Moqui Indians. Hitherto it was thought that Fr. Francisco Porras was the protomartyr of Arizona; but I am indebted to Fr. Bonaventure Oblasser, O.F.M., missionary and historian of Arizona, for pointing out to me that this title goes to Fr. Martin de Arvide. In 1632 this Father was sent to the Zipias, who dwelt in Arizona west

of the Zuñis. On the way he visited Fr. Francisco Letrado, the missionary at Hawikuh, one of the Zuñi pueblos, and departed from there on or before Sunday, February 22; for, on that day Fr. Letrado himself was killed by wayward members of his flock. It was these same Indians very probably who followed Fr. Martin de Arvide, and on February 27, as Vetancurt tells us, beat him with clubs until he was half dead; whereupon his own ungrateful servant, Lorenzo, in order to win the favor of the murderers, with a hoop sawed off the Father's right hand and head.<sup>(25)</sup> Who were the Zipias? Most likely they were Moquis. If Fr. Arvide left Hawikuh on February 21 or 22, he had been traveling for six or five days, when he was overtaken and attacked by the murderers of Fr. Letrado; and the Moquis were a seven days' journey distant from the Zuñis. Furthermore, Bandelier tells us that the Zuñi name for the Moquis was Top-in-te-ua, which does sound something like Zi-pi-a.<sup>(26)</sup>

#### FRANCISCO PORRAS

When Fr. Martin de Arvide set out for the Zipias, some missionaries were already working among the Moquis; and one of their number at least won the martyr's crown the very next year, 1633. Fr. Francisco Porras and his companions, Fr. Andrés Gutierrez and Brother Cristóbal de la Concepcion arrived at the Moqui pueblo of Awatobi on August 20, 1629, and there founded the mission of San Bernardo. Other missions were later founded at Oraibi with Walpi as a *visita* and at Mishongnovi with Shongopovi as a *visita*.<sup>(27)</sup>

Fr. Porras, a saintly man, was very successful in his work; and, according to Vetancurt, he baptized more than a thousand Indians after working a miracle by which sight was given to the chief's boy who was blind from birth.



This aroused the mortal enmity of some old medicine men, who cast some poison into the missionary's food. As soon as Father Porras had partaken of the dish, he realized that death would result. He hastened to his priestly confrère, Fr. Andrés, received the last sacraments with touching devotion, and expired after reciting the Psalm "In te Domine speravi," June 28, 1633. According to Engelhardt it is probable that the two companions of Fr. Porras were likewise poisoned; but since it is not certain, we have not included their names in our list of martyrs.<sup>(28)</sup>

The other four martyrs of Arizona were all victims of the great Pueblo Revolt in 1680: Fr. José de Trujillo at Mission San Bartolomé de Shongopovi; Fr. José de Espeleta and Fr. Agustin de Santa Maria at Mission San Francisco de Oraibi; and Fr. José de Figueroa (or de la Concepcion) at Mission San Bernardo de Awatobi. All except Fr. Espeleta, who had been working among the Pueblo Indians for thirty years and at one time had served as Custos,<sup>(29)</sup> came to these missions in 1674; and all were killed by the Moquis on August 10, 1680, unless as some writers say Fr. Espeleta was kept for a while as a slave.<sup>(30)</sup> Neither Fr. Ayeta nor Fr. Vetancurt, however, say anything of his supposed captivity. Several stories have, in fact, become current about the martyrs of 1680 for which there is no reliable documentary evidence. It seems these stories are largely traceable to the writings of W. W. H. Davis.<sup>(31)</sup> Certainly, when he tells us that Fr. Juan de Vallada and Fr. Juan (Jesus) de Lombarde (Lombardi) lost their lives at the hands of the Moquis in 1680, he is mistaken; there were no such Fathers in the Moqui missions at the time.<sup>(32)</sup> This error is repeated by Shea<sup>(33)</sup> and Salpointe,<sup>(34)</sup> though the latter himself says elsewhere<sup>(35)</sup> that these friars arrived in 1681. In that year, however, the missions were in ruins, and no new missionaries had as yet been able to return to them.

## JOSE TRUJILLO

Of all the martyrs of 1680 Vetancurt singles out Fr. José Trujillo for a somewhat detailed biographical sketch. This Father, who edified all by his holy and austere life, had made a voyage to the Philippines before he went to New Mexico. Desirous of winning the martyr's crown, he had been assured by the Venerable Mother Juana de San Antonio, Abbess of the Poor Clares in Manila, that it would be in New Mexico that his desire was to be fulfilled. And when he arrived among the Moquis in 1674, he wrote to a confrère back in Mexico that the Blessed Virgin, having healed a girl who had been crippled for twelve years, told her to warn all that within a few years the land would be destroyed because of the little reverence it had for its priests.<sup>(36)</sup>

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## IV

### NEW MEXICO

#### THIRTY MARTYRS OF NEW MEXICO

In New Mexico more Franciscan missionaries won the martyr's crown than in any other State. There were no less than thirty: one in each of the years, 1544(?), 1581, 1631, 1632, 1672, 1675; two in 1582; five in 1696; and seventeen in 1680. It will be well to give a special list, in chronological order, of the thirty martyrs of New Mexico:

1. Bro. Luis de Escalona, at Pecos, 1544 (?)
2. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, at Chilili, 1581
3. Fr. Francisco Lopez, at Puaray (Bernallilo), 1582
4. Bro. Agustin Rodriguez, at Puaray, 1582
5. Fr. Pedro de Miranda, at Taos, 1631
6. Fr. Francisco Letrado, at Hawikuh (Zuñi), 1632
7. Fr. Pedro Avila y Ayala, at Hawikuh, 1672
8. Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila, at Senecú, 1675
9. Fr. Juan Bernal, at Galisteo, 1680
10. Fr. Domingo de Vera, at Galisteo, 1680
11. Fr. Fernando de Velasco, at Galisteo, 1680
12. Fr. Manuel Tinoco, at Galisteo, 1680
13. Fr. Juan Bautista Pio, at Tesuque, 1680
14. Fr. Tomás de Torres, at Nambé, 1680
15. Fr. Luis de Morales, at San Ildefonso, 1680
16. Bro. Antonio Sanchez de Pro, at San Ildefonso, 1680
17. Fr. Matias Rendón, at Picuris, 1680
18. Fr. Antonio de Mora, at Taos, 1680
19. Bro. Juan de la Pedrosa, at Taos, 1680

20. Fr. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, at Santo Domingo, 1680
21. Fr. Juan de Talabán, at Santo Domingo, 1680
22. Fr. José de Montesdoca, at Santo Domingo, 1680
23. Fr. Juan de Jesús, at Jemez, 1680
24. Fr. Lucas Maldonado, at Acoma, 1680
25. Fr. Juan del Val, at Halona (Zuñi), 1680
26. Fr. Francisco de Jesús Maria Casañas, at Jemez, 1696
27. Fr. José de Arbizu, at San Cristóbal, 1696
28. Fr. Antonio Carbonel, at San Cristóbal, 1696
29. Fr. Francisco Corvera, at San Ildefonso, 1696
30. Fr. Antonio Moreno, San Ildefonso, 1696

The protomartyr of New Mexico, Brother Luis de Escalona (or Ubeda), who may be indentical with Fray Juan de la Cruz, was a companion of Fr. Juan de Padilla, the protomartyr of the United States and of Texas. When Coronado went back to Mexico and Fr. Padilla returned to Quivira (1542), Brother Luis continued his missionary work among the Pueblo Indians at Pecos (Cicuye) near Santa Fe. Brother Luis sent word that the Indians at the latter pueblo were friendly, but some medicine men were hostile to him. Nevertheless, the zealous Brother remained, and nothing was ever heard from him again. It may be regarded as certain, writes Fr. Engelhardt, that Brother Luis was killed by the medicine men; and hence we have retained his name on our list of martyrs.<sup>(37)</sup>

#### BR. AGUSTIN RODRIGUEZ

In 1581 Brother Agustin Rodriguez, a pioneer in the northern part of Mexico, went to New Mexico with Fathers Francisco Lopez, superior, and Juan de Santa Maria, accompanied by Francisco Sánchez, called Chamuscado, leader of the expedition, eight soldiers, and nineteen Indians. After they had explored a large portion of New Mexico, Fr. Juan de Santa Maria decided to return alone and report on what had been seen. Leaving

his companions in the neighborhood of Galisteo on September 7, 1581, he met his death on the third day following—which would place the scene somewhere in the vicinity of Chilili. While he was sleeping under a tree, some Indians crushed his head with a heavy stone. Subsequently his companions came to Puaray (Tiguex, near present Bernallilo); and there the missionaries remained, while the soldiers returned to Mexico. Soon after Fr. Lopez was killed by the local Indians with arrows, and Brother Rodriguez was likewise murdered by them a little later.<sup>(38)</sup>

By 1630 the Franciscan missions in New Mexico had reached their zenith with as many as 25 churches and mission centers for 90 pueblos, counting some 60,000 Christian Indians under the spiritual care of about 50 priests;<sup>(39)</sup> but at this time already the pagan medicine men, who saw themselves deprived more and more of the control they had exercised over the people, were fostering that spirit of revolt which became manifest at times and finally developed fifty years later into fanatic hatred of the Spaniards and the Christian religion.

#### PEDRO DE MIRANDA

On December 28, 1631, a very cold day, the two soldiers who served as guards at the mission of Taos went into the missionary's kitchen to warm themselves. Incited by the medicine men, a mob of Indians broke into the house and killed the soldiers as well as the missionary, Fr. Pedro de Miranda, whom they found at prayer.<sup>(40)</sup>

Some two months later, February 22, 1632, a Sunday in Lent, in the Zuñi pueblo of Hawikuh, Fr. Francisco Letrado, finding that the Indians did not come to church, went out to exhort them and was killed by a volley of arrows coming from members of his own flock. This



murder, too, seems to have been instigated by the medicine men. Not satisfied with the death of Fr. Letrado, the murderers pursued Fr. Martin de Arvide who had just visited his fellow-missionary and also killed him in Arizona, as already mentioned.<sup>(41)</sup>

### A PUZZLING INSCRIPTION

Francisco de la Mora Ceballos, governor of New Mexico, sent an expedition under Thomás de Albizú to avenge Fr. Letrado's death. The party passed the famous rock, El Morro, some thirty miles from Zuñi; and one of the soldiers, Lujan by name, added an inscription to the many which had already been carved into the smooth sandstone. A very puzzling inscription, it was not deciphered until Lummis lent a helping hand. Reduced to longhand Spanish, the inscription reads: "Se pasaron á 23 de Marzo de 1632 años a la benganza de Muerte del Padre Letrado. Lujan." "They passed on the 23rd of March in the year 1632 to avenge the death of Father Letrado."<sup>(42)</sup>

### VICTIMS OF THE APACHES

Besides the opposition of the medicine men, there was also the implacable hostility of the Apaches, who made frequent inroads on the pueblos. On October 7, 1672,<sup>(43)</sup> the Navajos (who were regarded as belonging to the Apaches) made a surprise attack on Hawikuh (Zuñi),<sup>(44)</sup> and killed the resident missionary, Fr. Pedro Avila y Ayala, by stoning him to death. The next day, Fr. Juan Galdo, missionary of Halona, came to the deserted village and transferred the martyr's body to Halona.

Another missionary, Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila, perished in an Apache raid, when these dreaded warriors fell upon the pueblo of Senecú on January 23, 1675.<sup>(45)</sup> The survivors fled to Socorro, and Senecú, like Hawikuh, was



abandoned. Similarly, because of Apache incursions, the pueblo of Chilili and all those about the Salinas were abandoned before the Revolt of 1680.<sup>(46)</sup>

As already stated in regard to the last four martyrs in Arizona, much has been written about the martyrs of 1680 which is not based on reliable sources;<sup>(47)</sup> our authorities on these martyrs are Fr. Francisco Ayeta, who as superior of the New Mexican missions had just gone to Mexico to fetch supplies and returned in time to save the refugees at El Paso;<sup>(48)</sup> Doctor Ysidro Sariñana y Cuenca, who preached a funeral oration on the martyrs in Mexico City on March 20, 1681;<sup>(49)</sup> Fr. Vetancurt, whose account was published in 1698;<sup>(50)</sup> Fr. Silvestre Veléz de Escalante, who compiled "a compact and very accurate sketch of the bloodiest episode in all Southwestern history" (Lummis) from the Archives of Santa Fé in 1778;<sup>(51)</sup> and various contemporary reports and testimonies, the contents of which have been presented in a scholarly and orderly way by Professor Charles W. Hackett.<sup>(52)</sup>

Ayeta, Vetancurt, and Escalante, all agree that the martyrs of 1680 were twenty-one in number. Escalante, who does not give their names, says that three of them were lay-brothers; but Ayeta indicates in his list that only two were lay-brothers and the rest priests. Fathers Lorenzo Analisa, Juan Espinosa, and Esteban Casalda, whose names are added to the list of martyrs in 1680 by some authors,<sup>(53)</sup> were not in the country at the time. Brother Luis de Baeza who is mentioned as an additional martyr, is undoubtedly the same person as Fr. Luis de Morales, of whom Vetancurt tells us that he was a native of Baeza.<sup>(54)</sup> The story of a certain Fr. Simon de Jesus, as being one of the martyrs, seems to be based on the report of a Jesuit who was in the country of the Moquis in the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is true that in one place Ayeta speaks of twenty-seven martyrs; but that is in his

first report of August 31, 1680, which he corrected in his subsequent detailed list of September 11, 1680. Curiously enough, though Fr. Ayeta and Dr. Sariñana both say that there were twenty-one martyrs, they omit the name of one of the martyrs from their respective lists, the former that of Fr. Lucas Maldonado and the latter that of Fr. Juan Bautista Pio. This is undoubtedly an oversight, and since the name in each instance is a different one they mutually supplement each other. Fr. Vetancurt has the names of all twenty-one. The biographical sketches of the individual martyrs supplied by Fr. Ayeta and Fr. Vetancurt are very brief. As already stated, however, an exception is made by Fr. Vetancurt in the case of Fr. José Trujillo, who died in Arizona, and a somewhat more extended notice on Fr. Juan de Jesús is given by Fr. Vetancurt<sup>(55)</sup> as well as Fr. Espinosa of the Apostolic College of Querétaro.<sup>(56)</sup>

#### FR. AYETA'S RECORD

It will be well to give an exact translation of the *relacion* of the martyrs of 1680 by Fr. Ayeta, found by Fr. Otto Maas in the Archivo General de Indias of Seville:<sup>(57)</sup>

Names, native places and provinces from which came their sons, the twenty-one friars, who while engaged in administering the holy sacraments, were killed by apostate Indians of the provinces of New Mexico on the 10th day of August in the year 1680:

*Galisteo.* In this pueblo and friary of Santa Cruz de Galisteo they killed the Very Reverend Padre Fray Juan Bernal, actual Custos of the said provinces and son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Mexico. He arrived in these missions in the past year, 1677. In his company, Padre Fray Domingo de Vera, son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city

of Mexico. He arrived as a missionary in the past year, 1674, on the occasion of my first journey. <sup>(58)</sup>

*Pecos.* In the friary of Porciúncula de los Pecos, the Reverend Padre Fray Fernando de Velasco, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Cádiz. He arrived as a missionary thirty years before, a little more or less. <sup>(59)</sup>

*Villa de Santa Fe.* In one of the visitas of the Villa. <sup>(60)</sup> Padre Fray Juan Bautista Pio, a son of the holy Province of Cantabria, incorporated into that of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Vitoria in the province of Alava. He arrived as a missionary in the past year, 1677.

*Nambe.* In the friary of Nuestro Padre San Francisco de Nambe, the Reverend Padre Fray Tomás de Torres, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of Teposatlán; he arrived as a missionary in the past year, 1677.

*San Ildefonso.* In the friary of San Ildefonso, Padre Fray Luis de Morales, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of Ubeda or Baeza; he arrived as a missionary in 1664. In his company, Brother Fray Antonio Sánchez de Pro, a lay religious, a son of the holy Province of San Diego of Mexico, a native of the same city; he arrived in 1677.

*Pecuries.* In the friary of San Lorenzo de Pecuries, Padre Fray Matías Rendón, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Los Angeles; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

*Taos.* In the friary of San Jerónimo de los Taos, Padre Fray Antonio de Mora, son of the holy Province of Mechoacán, a native of the city of Los Angeles; he arrived as a missionary in 1671. In his company, Brother Fray

Juan de la Pedrosa, a lay religious, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Mexico; he arrived in 1674.

*San Marcos.* In the friary of San Marcos, Padre Fray Manuel Tinoco, a son of the holy Province of San Miguel of Extremadura; his status in the Province of the Holy Gospel is not known; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

*Santo Domingo.* In the friary of Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo, the Reverend Padre Fray Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of Galicia, from the same place as the brother of Señora Doña Francisca de Losa. And in his company the Very Reverend Padre Fray Juan de Talabán, ex-custos, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of Seville; he arrived as a missionary in 1661. Also, Padre Fray José de Montesdoca, a son of the holy Province of Mechoacán, a native of Querétaro; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

*Xemes.* In the friary of San Diego de los Xemes, Padre Fray Juan de Jesús, a son of the holy Province of Granada, a native of the same city, incorporated into the Province of Mechoacán; he arrived as a missionary in 1667.

*Alona.* In the friary of Purísima Concepción de Alona, Padre Fray Juan del Val, a son of the holy Province of Castilla, incorporated into that of the Holy Gospel, a native of a place in Castilla called Val; he arrived as a missionary in 1671.<sup>(61)</sup>

*Aguatubi.* In the friary of San Bernardo de Aguatubi, Padre Fray José de Figueroa, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Mexico; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

*Xongopavi.* In the friary of San Bartolomé de Xongopavi, the Reverend Padre Fray José de Trujillo, a son of

the Province, a native of the city of Cádiz; he arrived as a missionary in 1677.

*Oraybe.* In the friary of San Miguel de Oraybe, the Reverend Padre Fray José de Espeleta, ex-custos, a son of the Province of the Holy Gospel, a native of the city of Estella in the kingdom of Navarra; he arrived as a missionary thirty years previous, a little more or less. In his company, Padre Fray Agustin de Santa Maria, a son of the holy Province of Mechoacán, a native of Pascuaro; he arrived as a missionary in 1674.

All the rest have escaped, except three who died a natural death a short time before the event.

This list was accompanied by a letter of which the following is an excerpt:

Most Excellent Sir. . . . The religious who at their post surrendered their lives and their souls to our Creator are twenty-one in number, whose names, Provinces and native places I send to your Excellency in the list which accompanies this letter. May God protect you. . . . At Paso del Río del Norte, September 11, 1680 . . . Fr. Francisco de Ayeta.

#### OPINIONS NOT WELL-FOUNDED

Regarding the martyrs of 1680 I wish to add only that the opinion of such writers as Defourri, and Read who follows him, according to which these missionaries were not martyrs in the ecclesiastical sense, does not seem to be borne out by a careful study of the causes and the events of the revolt. On the contrary, there are numerous indications that the heroes of 1680 were murdered out of hatred for the Christian religion. Men who were on the scene before and after the revolt ascribed the destruction wrought to the machinations of the evil spirit. That there



may have been other contributing causes I do not deny. When the meaning of "martyrdom," as the Church understands it, was explained to Dr. Hackett, who has made a thorough study of the revolt of 1680, he expressed it as his opinion that the missionaries who perished at the time deserve to be styled "martyrs" in the true sense.

### MARTYRS OF 1696

After the reconquest of New Mexico by Diego de Vargas in 1692, the missions were reestablished and remanned by seventeen Franciscans. In 1696, however, there was another and final insurrection, in which five more missionaries lost their lives at different pueblos. One of them was Fr. Francisco de Jesús Maria Casañas of the missionary college of Querétaro, who thus became that College's first martyr as well as the first martyr of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide as far as the Franciscans and the New World were concerned. Born in Barcelona, he entered the Franciscan order when he was fourteen, and as a young priest of twenty-six he joined the group of friars who founded the first of the missionary colleges in America, the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Querétaro, 1682. Before coming to New Mexico with other members of the College, he had labored in the Mexican province of Campeche and in the Texas missions. In New Mexico the pueblo of San Diego de Jemez (Gyusiwa) <sup>(62)</sup> was assigned to his care. In the uprising of 1696, he was induced to come out of the village by some pagan Indians who told the Father that a man was dying and wished to make his confession. Outside the village the war chief of the pueblo and the interpreter fell upon the missionary and beat him to death with their war clubs, while the latter repeated the names of Jesus and Mary, whose holy names he bore, until life was extinct. <sup>(63)</sup> He was only forty



years old, having been a friar for twenty-six years and a missionary for sixteen.

At the Tanos pueblos of San Cristóbal the rebels of 1696 made away with Fathers José de Arbizu and Antonio Carbonel; and at the Tewa pueblo of San Ildefonso, Fr. Francisco Corvera, the missionary of the place, and Fr. Antonio Moreno from Nambé who was just visiting his confrère were put to death. At the latter pueblo, during the night of June 4, the rebellious Indians closed up all the windows of the friary, and then set fire to it and to the church; the missionaries perished in the smoke and flames.<sup>(64)</sup>

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## V

### TEXAS

Remarkable is the fact that the first as well as the last of the Franciscan martyrs of the United States (if we except one of our own day) lost their lives in Texas. Here, too, the French and the Spanish missionary friars found common ground; Franciscans not only from Spain but also from France are included among the Texan martyrs.

As early as 1529 Fr. Juan Suarez, bishop-elect of the province of Rio de las Palmas which was to include the territory from Florida to Texas, and Brother Juan de Palos succumbed to hunger and exposure on the coast of Texas near Matagorda Bay.<sup>(65)</sup> Both had been missionaries in Mexico and belonged to that distinguished group of Franciscan friars who have been styled "the Twelve Apostles of Mexico."<sup>(66)</sup>

#### FR. JUAN PADILLA, PROTOMARTYR OF THE UNITED STATES

The recent researches of David Donoghue make it quite clear that the site of Fr. Juan Padilla's martyrdom lies near the Canadian River in the northernmost part of the State, called the Panhandle of Texas; for it is here that the elusive Quivira appears to have been situated, and Fr. Padilla was murdered a day's journey on foot to the

south of the camp of the Quivira Indians.<sup>(67)</sup> Fr. Padilla accompanied Coronado on his expedition to Quivira; and with the disappointed explorer who had expected to find mysterious treasures there, the missionary returned to Puaray on the Rio Grande opposite present Bernallilo, New Mexico, making the journey on foot as was his custom. With Andres Docampo, a soldier, Lucas and Sebastian, who were *donados* (oblates or Tertiary Brothers) in the Franciscan order, and a few Mexican Indian boys, Fr. Padilla then retraced his steps to Quivira. He wanted to devote himself to the conversion of the Indians he had found there; and in this he was partially successful.

Prompted by insatiable zeal, he then desired to turn his attention also to the Guas, a neighboring hostile tribe to the south, and set out for their camp despite the protest of the Quivirans. He and his companions had traveled but one day, when they were overtaken by a band of neighboring Indians who were on the war-path. Begging his companions to flee, Fr. Padilla fell on his knees, and while offering his life to God was pierced from head to foot with many arrows.

His fleeing companions were taken captive and held for ten months as slaves. Escaping from their captors, they wandered thousands of miles across the desert country. After eight long years they finally reached Tampico, Mexico, and reported the heroic death of Fr. Juan Padilla, the protomartyr of Texas and of the United States.<sup>(68)</sup> Some years later, Brother Lucas, the companion of Fr. Padilla, likewise became a martyr in Mexico.

#### ZENOBE MEMBRE AND MAXIM LE CLERCQ

Almost a century and a half elapsed before Franciscan missionaries again became martyrs on Texas soil; and this time they were two Flemish friars who had accompanied

the French explorer La Salle. After La Salle's death in 1687, his little orphaned colony at Fort St. Louis, the location of which Prof. Bolton has shown to have been on the Garcitas River near Matagorda Bay, struggled bravely on for two more years. Early in 1689 the Karankawa Indians feigned friendship with the colonists and frequently came to the fort to barter with them for trinkets. One day—it was probably in the middle of January—five of these Indians entered the fort on the pretext of trading and began to barter noisily at a house which stood somewhat apart from the rest. This attracted the attention of the colonists and they gathered around to listen to the bargaining, while other Indians came in to join their tribesmen. Meantime a band of Indian warriors were lying concealed at the river below the fort; and suddenly when the villagers were completely off their guard, they rushed up and mercilessly massacred all the habitants but five who were rescued by Indian women and by them carried to the Indian camp. Among those who were slain were the Sulpician priest, Abbé Chefdeville, and the two Franciscan missionaries, Fathers Zénobe Membré and Maxim Le Clercq.<sup>(69)</sup>

The appearance of the French in Texas caused the Spaniards to make repeated attempts to colonize and Christianize that territory. In 1718 Brother Luis de Montesdoca lost his life in a Texas prairie fire; but since his death, like that of Bishop-elect Juan Suarez and Brother Juan de Palos, was the result of a natural cause, we do not count him among the martyrs.<sup>(70)</sup>

#### BR. JOSE PITA

Brother José Pita, however, became a martyr, when Apaches killed him in 1721 at a place called Carnizeria, meaning "place of slaughter." It was situated some twenty

leagues from the so-called San Xavier missions along the river of the same name. Professor Bolton has identified the place as having been near modern Rockdale.<sup>(71)</sup>

#### JOSE F. GANZABAL

At the mission of La Candelaria, one of the San Xavier missions, Fr. José Francisco Ganzábal was killed in 1752 by the apostate Indian Andrés at the instigation of Don Felipe de Rábago y Terán, dissolute captain of the presidio of San Xavier. The latter had been guilty of very disorderly conduct, had in fact robbed Juan José Ceballos of his wife. When the exhortations of the missionaries proved fruitless, Fr. Miguel Pinilla, the presidente of the San Xavier missions, excommunicated the captain; and Fr. Ganzábal posted the decree on the presidio door. But nothing was able to halt the wayward captain on his evil course. Ceballos had finally found a place of refuge at La Candelaria mission, when Rábago, "more cruel than Diocletian," sent the Indian Andrés with four soldiers to murder him. When the assassins arrived on the night of May 11, 1752, Ceballos happened to be at the door of one of the rooms while Fathers Pinilla and Ganzábal were within. Suddenly a shot rang out, and Ceballos fell to the ground. Fr. Pinilla came out and stooped down to aid the dying man. Fr. Ganzábal ran to the door to see whence the shot came, and was shot under the left arm by an arrow which pierced his heart. Fr. Pinilla escaped death because he was in a stooping posture, and just at the moment the light in the room went out. Rábago tried to place the blame on some innocent Indians; and as a result two of the missions were abandoned by the natives. After that a curse seemed to rest on the whole territory; the San Xavier River, Fr. Morfi tells us, was dried up by a drought, brambles and briars grew up everywhere, and mysterious voices were heard.<sup>(72)</sup>



## FRANCISCO XAVIER SILVA

Three years previous, in 1749, Fr. Francisco Xavier Silva was killed by Natages Indians near the Presidio del Rio Grande and Mission San Juan Bautista. Loyal Indians had told the military authorities of the forthcoming attack; but the warning was not taken seriously until it was too late. Both presidio and mission were situated on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, although they were counted among the Texas outposts of the time. There is no doubt, however, that Fr. Silva lost his life on the Texas side of the Rio Grande. To Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda the writer is greatly indebted for the following very valuable information taken from an original eye-witness account of the martyrdom of Fr. Silva. This missionary, a member of the Apostolic College of Zacatecas, and eight soldiers were killed about fifteen miles east of the presidio, while on the way from San Antonio to the missions on the Rio Grande. Their bodies were discovered a few days later by an Indian messenger making the same journey in the other direction. Fr. Silva's body was taken to San Juan Bautista for burial.<sup>(73)</sup>

## ALONSO GIRALDO AND JOSE SANTIESTEBAN

The two martyrs of the Apache mission of San Sabá, Fathers Alonso Giraldo de Terreros and José Santiesteban, lost their lives when a band of northern Indians, enemies of the Apaches, including Texas, Tonkawas, Bidais, and Comanches, swooped down on the mission on the morning of March 16, 1758. Another missionary, Fr. Miguel Molina, was wounded over the chest on the right side, but did not die from the wound. Fr. Terreros was shot down at the mission gate; Fr. Santiesteban was decapitated while kneeling before the altar in the church, his head being severed from the body at the shoulders.<sup>(74)</sup>



## JOSE ANTONIO DIAZ

"The last of the friars," that is, of the Spanish and Mexican friars who labored in the early missions, was Fr. José Antonio Diaz de Leon. A worthy successor of Venerable Fr. Antonio Margil, he was known as a man of great virtue and exemplary life. He was murdered, not by Indians, but by turbulent American frontiersmen in November, 1834. When the Texas missions were "secularized," 1813-1825, Father Diaz was their superior. With what heavy hearts the missionaries left is indicated by the last words in the register of Mission Concepcion: "Como la muerte"—"Like unto death." In 1832, however, the Bishop of Monterey, Mexico, sent Fr. Diaz to minister to the wants of the scattered Catholics in the vicinity of Nacogdoches in eastern Texas. At the time this territory was overrun by Yankee bandits, criminals, and restless characters, who hated the Catholic Church and its priests. After leaving the house of a friend by the name of Prentiss Bordon, where on November 4, 1834, he wrote a farewell letter to his flock in which he anticipated a martyr's death and forgave his enemies, Fr. Diaz was never again seen alive. Fr. P. F. Parisot, O.M.I., who made a missionary journey in these parts in 1853, also made investigations regarding the death of Fr. Diaz; and he came to the conclusion that most probably the murder of the missionary took place near San Augustine, some thirty miles southeast of Nacogdoches.<sup>(75)</sup>

Father Diaz's farewell letter has been preserved; it reads more like a last will and testament and it shows that he realized the danger to which he was exposed and anticipated a martyr's death. The letter follows:

"House of Mr. Prentiss Bordon.

"Today, Sunday, November 4, 1834, I returned to this house; and since it seems to be the last day of my

life—God knows why—I address my weak and weary words to my beloved parishioners of Nacogdoches, bidding them from the bottom of my heart an earnest farewell. Adios! Adios! I ask them to inform His Majesty of the condition in which I am. I greet them with my heart in my eyes and tears, especially Mr. Roberts, Lieutenant Colonel Elias Bean, Mr. Adolph, my friends Allen, Reque, and Chones, and all and everyone who believes in Jesus Christ. And by this letter I wish to make it manifest and known that I truly beg pardon from all and each of the persons whom I have offended, and likewise, prostrate in spirit on the ground, I pardon with all my heart all and everyone who may have offended me, be the offense what it may. I take all without exception to my heart as my beloved children in the charity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Farewell also to the *alcalde* of the *ayuntamiento*, Don Juan Mora—I say farewell, farewell. Amen, amen, amen. With like expressions of affection I address this letter to my dear friend, Dr. Manuel Santos, that he may send it to his correspondents when he can, in order to lay bare my heart to all my parishioners, whom I beseech in the heart of our Savior Jesus Christ to persevere firmly in keeping the law of God and the sacred obligations they contracted in Baptism. And I beg him to give this letter to my nephew, Santos Antonio Aviles, that he may make a copy of it, and live in the fear of his Creator.

“FRAY ANTONIO DIAZ DE LEON.” (76)

A precious document, this letter of an apostle and martyr whose heart was aglow with the fire of zeal for souls and an all-embracing Christian charity!

Some months before his death in 1936, The Very Reverend Father Martin Strub, ex-Provincial of the Franciscans in the Middle West, sent to the writer a letter he had received from someone in Nacogdoches, Texas, many

years before. Speaking of Padre Diaz de Leon, this correspondent wrote: "In those days it was considered a virtue to kill a Catholic priest by the rough Americans who crowded or rather flocked into Texas. The site of his grave is unknown to this date, but the Franciscans should do something to commemorate his blessed memory. I firmly believe he was killed for the faith, and is therefore a martyr. He foretold his death. If nothing else a tablet should be placed in our little church here to perpetuate his blessed memory."

Yes, the memory not only of Father Diaz but of all the Franciscan martyrs of Texas should be held in honor at each of the seven places where these nine martyrs won their crown, scattered as they are over the whole vast area of the largest State in the Union. We are happy to note that a granite monument, depicting the death of Fray Juan de Padilla, protomartyr of Texas and of the United States, was dedicated in the summer of 1937 in Ellwood Park, Amarillo, by the Most Reverend Bishop Robert E. Lucey in the presence of many officials of Church and State. The memorial was sponsored jointly by the State Board of Control and the Texas Knights of Columbus.

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## VI

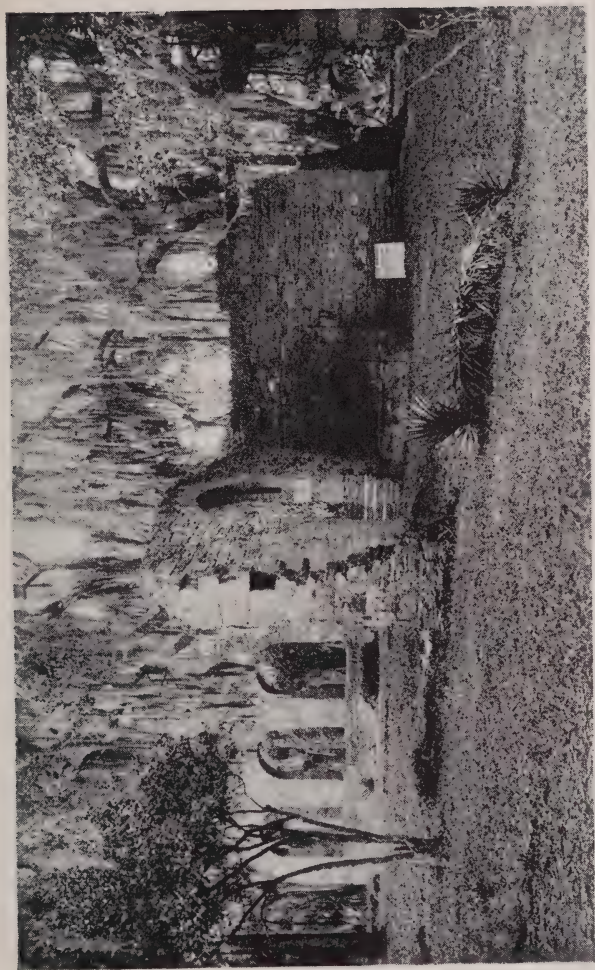
### FLORIDA

Since the present state of Georgia was a part of Spanish Florida, the martyrs of that state may be called martyrs of Florida. But here we are speaking only of the state of Florida; and of the nine martyrs in this area, one died at Jororo (Tororo), south of St. Augustine, and the others on different occasions in the Apalache missions near present Tallahassee.

After the insurrection of the Apalache Indians in 1657, all the missionaries who had been laboring among them were compelled to depart; and all of them drowned in the gulf or while crossing the channel on the way to Havana, Cuba. They are listed by some among the martyrs, but we have not included them in our list.<sup>(77)</sup>

The protomartyrs of the Franciscans in Florida, so far as we have been able to ascertain, met their death in 1647. Provoked by the unreasonable demands of the Governor of Spanish Florida, the Indians of the Apalache district rose in a rebellion and killed three of the eight missionaries laboring among them, as well as nine other Spaniards. The latter seem to have been the Lieutenant Governor and his family. The documents consulted all state that three missionaries were put to death but none mentions their names. Hence beyond the fact of their martyrdom we can furnish little information.<sup>(78)</sup> Concerning the other Florida martyrs we have more definite knowledge.





Mission San José de Jororo, near New Smyrna, Florida, scene of the murder  
of Father Luis Sanchez.





## LUIS SANCHEZ

Early in 1697 twenty Franciscan missionaries arrived in Florida; and eight of their number were sent to the new missions of Jororo, Mayaca, Anacapi, San Antonio, and San Joseph, south of St. Augustine. In October of the same year, the pagans of these five towns rose up against the Spaniards, and killed one missionary, Fr. Luis Sanchez, one soldier, and five Indian converts; and after burning the mission structures, they disappeared in the woods. Without flock or shelter, the surviving missionaries were forced to return to St. Augustine. However, six friars, of whom one who was the superior knew the language of the district, tried once more to bring about the conversion of these Indians; and according to a report of the Fr. Provincial, dated August 15, 1698, their persevering efforts were crowned with success.<sup>(79)</sup>

## JUAN DE PARGA

Similarly the Apalache missions had been reestablished, so that by 1655 this district had ten missions and in 1680 fourteen. They were in a flourishing condition when the English appeared on the scene early in the following century, and destroyed them all except one which survived only for a short time. It was at the close of 1703, that a force of English under Governor Moore with one thousand savage allies invaded this territory. Lieutenant Juan Ruiz de Mejia, commander of a little garrison in the district, prepared to resist the invaders; and Fr. Juan de Parga, missionary at San Pedro y San Pablo de Patali, urged the Indians to fight bravely, since no death was more glorious than that suffered for the Faith. After the missionary had imparted absolution to all, Mejia advanced against the enemy with thirty Spanish soldiers and four hundred Apalache Indians. The commander asked Fr.

Parga to remain behind, but the missionary would not desert his flock. On January 25, 1704, the courageous little army twice repulsed the enemy near Ayubale in the vicinity of present Tallahassee; but when their ammunition gave out, most of them were killed or captured.

Among the prisoners were Mejia who had been wounded and Fathers Juan de Parga and Angel Miranda. Many of them were at once tied to stakes, tortured, and burned to death. Several of the Apalache Indians manifested a heroism similar to that of the first Christians, particularly Antonio Enixa of Mission San Luis at Talimali (Talpatqui) and Amador Cuipa Feliciano of the same town. Father Parga was burned at the stake and beheaded, and one of his legs was hacked off. Fr. Miranda vainly tried to put a stop to the carnage by appealing to Governor Moore.

#### MANUEL DE MENDOZA

A party of the invaders also went to the mission at Patali; and there an apostate Indian called Fr. Manuel de Mendoza, who was shot through the head as he opened the window. The town of Patali was reduced to ashes.

Meanwhile Moore sent word to Perez who still held the block-house at Mission San Luis, two miles west of the present Tallahassee, and offered to give up Mejia, Fr. Miranda, and four soldiers for a consideration not specified; and thus they were redeemed and set free.<sup>(80)</sup> That Father Miranda escaped death is evident from the fact that he is mentioned as being at Nombre de Dios, near St. Augustine, in 1712;<sup>(81)</sup> and the following year he was at St. Augustine as one of the definitors (councillors) of the Franciscan province of Santa Elena.<sup>(82)</sup> Besides Fathers Parga and Mendoza, however, three other Franciscans perished at the hands of the English and their Indian allies during Moore's invasion of the Apalache

country. As reported on November 10, 1722, by Father Blas Pulido, the guardian (or superior) of the Franciscan friary at St. Augustine, their names were: Father Domingo Criado of the province of Concepción, Father Tiburcio de Osorio, a Cuban, and Father Agustin Ponze de León, a native of Florida.<sup>(83)</sup>

Those Apalache Indians who were not killed or captured finally submitted to the invaders. After killing about 200 Christian Indians and all the Spaniards except those at San Luis, Moore departed carrying into slavery 1,400 Apalache warriors. Of the eleven mission towns in the Apalache district at the time, only Ybithachucu (Mission San Lorenzo) escaped destruction. Afterwards Fr. Juan de Villaba came with others to the ruined region, saw the houses demolished and the cultivated fields destroyed, and found the bodies of men and women scalped, mutilated, burned, some of them half-burned, hanging from stakes or pierced by them. Fr. Parga's mangled body was found and taken to Ybithachucu. In the Patali ruins Fr. Mendoza's body was found half consumed by fire, his beads and partly melted crucifix having sunk into the flesh. Ybithachucu was kept up for a while longer, and then the Indians who remained moved to the new French fort at Mobile.<sup>(84)</sup>

Of the Apalache martyrs, Shea writes as follows: "The martyrdom of Ayubale has no parallel in our annals except in the deaths of Fathers Brébeuf, Lalemant, Daniel, and Garnier, in the Huron country, which has been so often and so pathetically described; but the butcheries perpetrated there were not enacted before the eyes and by the order of the Governor of a Christian colony."<sup>(85)</sup> Since the English were prompted not only by greed but also by hatred of the Catholic religion, the Apalache missionaries who perished in the Anglo-Spanish conflict were not mere victims of war and may justly be called martyrs.

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## VII

### GEORGIA

#### FIVE MARTYRS OF GEORGIA

In the Spanish Florida province of Guale (present Georgia), five Franciscan missionaries had already died as martyrs at a much earlier date than the martyrs of what is now Florida. The son of a *cacique*, called Don Juan or Don Juanillo by some, had accepted Christianity; but after some time he was no longer satisfied with one lawful wife and relapsed into polygamy, the pagan mode of life. Reprimanded for this by the missionary of Tolomato, opposite Zapala Island, namely Fr. Pedro de Corpa, Don Juan secretly rejoined the pagan Indians and set on foot a revolt against the missionaries in the whole province. Five missionaries were killed, all of them with the *macana*, a stone hatchet or tomahawk, and one was held as a slave for ten months. Fr. Pedro de Corpa was killed on September 13, 1597; Fr. Blas de Rodriguez at Tupiqui, likewise on the mainland three leagues to the north of Tolomato, on September 16, after he had been held by the insurgents for two days; Fr. Miguel de Auñón, the Commissary, and his companion, Brother Antonio de Bádajoz, on Guale Island (St. Catherines Island), September 17; and Fr. Francisco de Verascola, on the island of Asao (St. Simon Island), some time after September 17 as he

was returning to his mission from St. Augustine. The missionary who was not killed but held as a captive for almost a year was Fr. Francisco de Avila.

About 1617 Fr. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, O.F.M., wrote a *Relación* containing among other things an authoritative history of the Franciscan martyrs of Georgia. An excellent English translation of the entire work with copious notes by Fr. Maynard Geiger, Franciscan historian at the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California, has been published recently;<sup>(86)</sup> and it is from the latter that we select the following simple and yet dramatic account:

"Two years after the friars arrived in Florida, namely in the year 1597, the Indians of Guale, instigated by the devil who is adverse to all good works, seized upon an occasion [to revolt]. One of the fathers would not permit an Indian youth, who was a Christian and heir to the chieftaincy, to have more than one wife to whom he was married. Because the priest reprimanded him and commanded him that since he was a Christian, he should live as a Christian and not as a pagan, [he rebelled]. He was told that according to the Christian law, he could not have more than one wife and indeed none other than the one to whom he was married.

"This *cacique* and two other Indians, like him given to the same immoral practice, went into the interior among the pagans, without saying anything or without obtaining permission as they were wont to do on the other occasions. After a few days they returned at night with many other pagan Indians, painted and smeared with red paste, and with feathers on their heads. This among them is a sign of cruelty and slaughter.

"That night when the Indians arrived, neither the priest nor those in the town knew anything about it. When, in the morning, the Indians opened the priest's house, they found him there praying; then without waiting



to give any explanation, they killed the priest with a stone hatchet which they call *macana*, but which is known as *champi* in the language of the Incas of Cuzco. This happened at Tolomato, the chief place of that district. The name of the friar whom they killed was Fray Pedro de Corpa.

"When this friar was dead, the Indians began to exchange women in order to give rein to their lust and to unlawful pleasures. A command was given that the head of the dead friar be placed on the end of a lance and set up at the landing place, and that the body be taken by two Indians to the woods, to be hidden so that the Christians would not find it. For this reason the body has not been found.

"Afterwards they sent notice to the isle of Guale [Santa Catalina], which was nearby, commanding the *cacique* to kill the two friars who were in his territory. When the *cacique* heard of this, he was much grieved, nor did he wish to fulfill the command. He, therefore warned the lay brother of what he had learned about the Indian's deeds, advising him that he and the Father Commissary go to the isle of San Pedro. Moreover the *cacique* offered to give him a bark and Indians who would take them thither, even though it would be at the risk of their lives. The lay brother, however, did not wish to believe him, and so did not choose to advise Fray Miguel de Auñón of the warning; nor did the *cacique* dare tell the priest, both on account of the shame which the situation revealed, and because of the great love he had for him.

"The *cacique* advised the lay brother again the next day, but not being able to believe such a thing, the brother reacted the same way as the first time. On the third day the Indians of the conspiracy came and told the *cacique* that they were coming to have him kill the friars; otherwise they would have to kill the *cacique*. The *cacique*



answered he had no reason for killing the friars and if they cared to overlook them, and would leave them free, he would give the Indians all that he possessed. The Indians agreed to answer that they had come to kill and that they meant to carry out their intention. The *cacique* then went to Fray Miguel and with tears told him what was happening, and that he could not rescue them, and that he and his people were going to the woods to weep for them as if they were their own brothers.

"When Fray Miguel and his companion saw this, they turned to prayer to await the critical hour of death. He said Mass and afterwards spent more than four hours in prayer. Presently the Indians sacked the house, then came first upon the lay brother and gave him a blow with the hatchet or *macana*, from which he soon died. They did not dare approach Fray Miguel because of the respect they had for him. But a pagan Indian came and gave him a heavy blow with a *macana* and stunned him. All the faithful of the town came, wishing to defend and rescue him; but another pagan Indian came from behind and gave him another very heavy blow which crushed his brains. This pagan Indian, within a few days, gave way to despair and hanged himself from a height with the cord of his bow. This caused great wonder among the Indians. The Christian Indians buried the body [of Fray Miguel] at the foot of a very high cross which he himself had erected. Six years afterwards when [the Spaniards] came to look for his bones, they found them at the foot of the cross, as the Indians had told them.

"In the town of Tupiqui, which is near the place where Fray Blas Rodríguez resided, the Indians came and said to him: 'We have come to kill you; you have no other alternative but to die.' Then the priest asked them to allow him first to say Mass and after that they could do with him as they pleased. He said Mass, while the Chris-

tian women as well as some men came to mourn over him. Then he divided among them the little he had for his own use. When four hours had passed after he said Mass, he held an argumentative discourse with all his [spiritual] sons whom he had baptized and instructed in the law of God. Seeing that they had rebelled against him, he said to them: 'My children, for me it is not a difficult thing to die, for death of the body will come even though you be not the instrument of my death. Every hour we must expect it; at the end we shall have to die. What hurts me is your loss, and that the devil has been able to make you commit so great an offense against your God and Creator; it hurts me, likewise, that you are so ungrateful for the work which I and the other fathers have undertaken for you in order to teach you the way to heaven.' Then he said to them, weeping: 'Look, children, now you have time, if you wish to depart from your evil intention; God, our Master, is merciful and He will forgive you.' But that sacrilegious people paid no attention to his counsel and tears, but rather they despoiled the relics and vestments of the church and everything the father had in his cell. Because of his requests and entreaties, they held him for two days without killing him. During this time, being a good friar and Christian, he prepared for death with the best disposition and care he could.

"When these days had passed, they gave him a heavy blow with a stone hatchet, thereby crushing his brains. They threw his body to the birds, for the Christians did not dare to bury him. But the birds did not come to feed on him; while a dog that came upon him, immediately turned away. This was seen by all. An old man, a Christian, took the body secretly to bury it in the woods."<sup>(87)</sup>

Father Oré then describes the sufferings endured by Fr. Francisco de Avila, the missionary of Ospo, Jekyl Island, during the ten months that he was a captive of the

rebel Indians. He adds also a narrative written by Fr. Avila himself, and lastly recounts briefly the martyrdom of the fifth missionary as follows:

"Father Verascola who at this time was in the city of St. Augustine, whither he had gone to obtain some things necessary for his residence and for his Indians, was in charge of the mission of Santo Domingo at Asao. He returned to Asao, very glad to divide among his Indians the things he brought along. But they had already played false and had apostatized from the faith, without the friar knowing about it. They waited for him; and when he disembarked, two Indians took him in their arms, while the others approached and killed him by means of blows with an ax. Then they buried him."<sup>(88)</sup>

That the martyrs of Georgia died as champions of the Christian law of monogamy is confirmed by a statement of the Fathers Definitors of the Custody of Santa Elena in a letter to the king, dated October 16, 1612. It reads as follows: "Although the Indians did not martyr the friars for the faith, it is certain that they martyred them because of the law of God which the religious taught them. This is the reason they gave and which they attest to today, since they realize their sin. . . . It is known in this land that since the death of those holy religious this people has become docile and mild-mannered attaining the point they show today."<sup>(89)</sup>

In the beginning of the eighteenth century when Governor Moore invaded Spanish Florida and destroyed the Franciscan missions in the Apalache country and put to death five of its missionaries (martyrs of Florida), three of the Franciscans in the Guale (Georgia) missions likewise fell into his hands, 1702. The latter, however, were not killed; still, they had to suffer as confessors of the Faith, inasmuch as they were kept prisoners by the English at San Jorge (South Carolina) for three years. This fact

is reported by Father Blas Pulido, superior of the friary at St. Augustine, November 10, 1722, who also mentions their names: They were Father Manuel de Uriza, a native of Florida and subsequently minister provincial of the province of Santa Elena; Father Domingo Santos of the province of Concepción; and Father Domingo Poze of the province of Santiago.<sup>(90)</sup>

The writer's attention has been called also to a statement in Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, of which a translation follows: "On May 12 of this year 1587 on the island of Florida the crown of martyrdom was given to Balthassar de Castro of the province of Burgos and Peter of the province of Castile, Spanish Friars Minor Observant, who, after announcing the word of God to those wild tribes, were taken and thrown into the fire, and thus exchanged life with death."<sup>(91)</sup> A similar statement appears in Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*:<sup>(92)</sup> "Balthassar, a member of the province of Burgos in Spain, and Peter, an alumnus of the province of Castile, together set out for Florida, a province of America; and after they had preached the word of God in those parts, they were consumed by fire at the hands of the barbarian and wild Catacalonis [*sic*] and thus passed to eternal rest in the year 1587 on the 12th day of May."

In these passages Wadding is evidently referring to Fray Baltasar López of the province of Burgos, who however was not killed by the Indians, and to Fray Pedro de Corpa, of the province of Castile, one of the martyrs of 1597, not 1587. Speaking of the friars who went to Florida with Father Reinoso in 1587, Father Oré writes: "One of these was Fray Baltasar López, of the province of Burgos, who suffered much among the Indians, and who knew their language well. They had condemned him to death three times, but God miraculously delivered him from them. He resided on the island of San Pedro, the

chief place of the Timucuans. Their language is used extensively. He had fostered the *cacique* from childhood. Almost all on that island are Christians. Fray Pedro de Corpa, priest and confessor of the province of Castile, who was in the province of Guale, knew the language well.”<sup>(93)</sup> Further proof that Father Baltasar Lopez was not put to death by the Indians is the letter he wrote to the king on December 12, 1599.<sup>(94)</sup>

Father Lopez, however, was not lacking in the courage and fearlessness that characterized the martyrs. In fact, his case is typical of many others in which missionaries who do not appear on the honor roll of the martyrs still manifested the same heroism and exposed themselves to the same dangers. While we honor the martyrs, these other heroes of the Cross who continued to toil perseveringly amid the greatest hardships, sometimes until they reached an advanced age, should not be forgotten.



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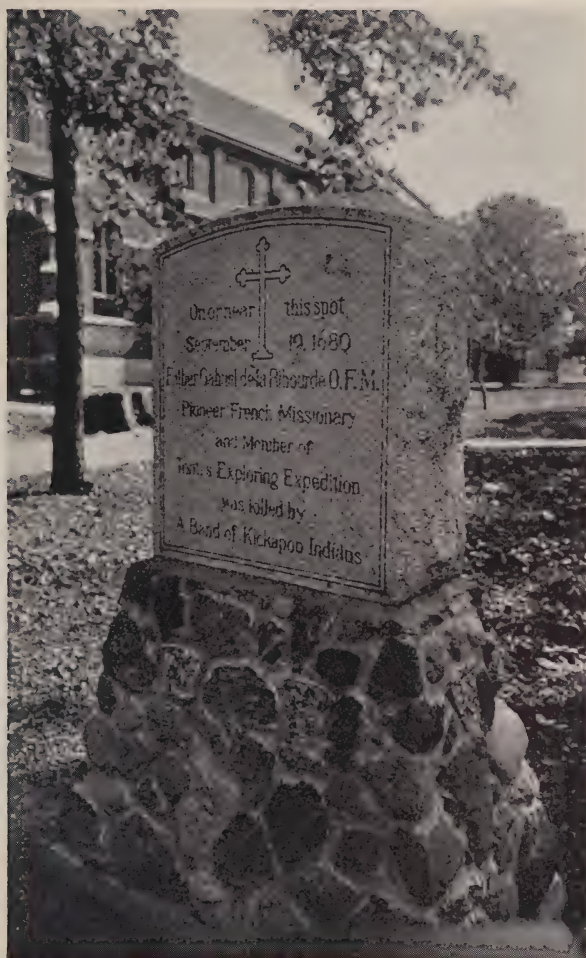
## VIII

### ILLINOIS

On the eighteenth day of September in the year 1680, a little canoe, carrying six pioneer white men, was slowly sailing up the Illinois River. The members of the party were the intrepid Henri de Tonti, son of a Neapolitan banker and chief aid of La Salle; the aged Franciscan missionary, Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, and his *confrère*, Father Zénobe Membré; the faithful M. de Boisrondet, a servant named L'Esperance, and a Parisian youth named Étienne Renault.

They had no provisions, their supply of ammunition was very meagre, their canoe was in a wretched condition, and none of their number was a canoeman. They paddled up river all day long, but their progress was very slow. During the night they camped on the river's bank, and early the next morning they resumed their journey.

At noon—it was now September 19—their canoe sprang a leak, and they were forced to land in order to make repairs as well as to dry their clothing and some peltries they had taken along. They were now eight leagues, some twenty miles, distant from the Great Village of the Illinois Indians, from which hostile Iroquois had driven them on the preceding day. The Great Village occupied a site extending about three miles along the north bank of the Illinois River from Twin Bluffs to a point



*Memorial of Father Gabriel de la Ribourde on the grounds  
of the St. Patrick Church, Seneca, Illinois.*



a mile and a quarter east of Starved Rock.<sup>(95)</sup> Eight leagues up the river would thus find Tonti's party located approximately at what is now Seneca, a town lying between Ottawa and Morris. The river was wider here than elsewhere. On the northern bank, where they landed, there were meadows and hills with little groves.

It was a beautiful spot, and the tranquility that pervaded the place invited Father La Ribourde, a man of sixty-five winters, to stroll into the woods and read his breviary, while the others were repairing the canoe. Busy with their work, the latter did not take note of Father La Ribourde's prolonged absence. But when it was six o'clock and the aged friar had not returned, they grew uneasy and went in search of him. Though their supply of ammunition was running very low, they fired repeatedly to direct Father La Ribourde, should he be in the neighborhood.

Tonti discovered the father's trail, and, with a companion, followed it for half a league, when suddenly he found it confused with the footprints of many others, which then joined and again formed a single trail. To Tonti it was a sign that the good father had been taken and perhaps killed. He communicated the sad news to Father Membré, who was greatly grieved. Together they retraced their steps to their camp on the bank of the river.

But they did not give up hope, and built a great fire as a signal for their lost companion. Treacherous Iroquois, however, might also be attracted, and so they crossed to the other bank, leaving their goods near the fire. During the night they kept a strict watch. Presently they saw a man approach the fire and then many others. But Father La Ribourde did not appear.

At daybreak the whole party returned to the other bank and made every possible search for Father La Ribourde; for they all loved him dearly and respected him highly. In the prairie on the bank of the river and

in the woods they discovered several fresh trails; but the father was nowhere in sight. They continued their search till noon; and then waited until three o'clock in the afternoon, when Tonti decided to move on.

Father Membré was grief-stricken at the loss of his *confrère* and wanted to remain until he should receive definite tidings of him. But Tonti did not think it advisable. Should the father merely have lost his way, he reasoned, they would undoubtedly meet him somewhere along the bank if they traveled by short stages up the river. If he had been taken or killed by an enemy, it was useless to tarry any longer. They would only place their own lives in jeopardy by remaining in these parts. The Iroquois had indeed constrained them to go away, but they were known to be fickle and deceptive. Thinking perhaps that Tonti and his companions had again joined the Illinois, they might even now be lying in ambush.

As they advanced, their sorrow and fear increased, for nowhere did they see any sign of Father La Ribourde. The next day, September 21, toward evening they heard the report of a gun in the woods on the bank of the river as they passed in their canoe. It confirmed them in the opinion that they were being pursued, and they kept a careful lookout to protect themselves.

Not long after they lost Father La Ribourde, Tonti and his companions reached the place where the Kankakee River joins the Des Plaines, thus forming the Illinois. Ascending the Des Plaines, they portaged to the Chicago River and passed through what is now the business center of Chicago, where today a forest of skyscrapers has supplanted the former forest of trees.

Following the western shore of Lake Michigan, they suffered untold hardships. To the pangs of hunger were added the sting of cold weather. Their canoe became so leaky, they had to abandon it and walk barefoot over



snow and ice. Fortunately they found some pumpkins in an abandoned Indian village. Here too they found a canoe; and, after repairing it, they continued their journey by water. To pursue their search for a friendly Indian village in some degree of comfort, they made shoes for themselves out of Father La Ribourde's mantle. Finally, on December 4, after two and one half months of travel, the hardships of which were so great that old Father La Ribourde, had he been with them, must have succumbed, they reached Green Bay and found both shelter and rest with the Jesuit missionaries. At the mission of St. Francis Xavier they spent the winter and spring, and thence they journeyed to Michilimakinac, where on June 5, 1681, they had the great happiness of meeting their dauntless leader, La Salle. With characteristic courage and optimism, they at once laid plans for a new expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi.

But meanwhile, what had happened to Father La Ribourde? Tonti and Father Membré later found out that the worst fears they had entertained, were facts. Their painstaking search for the father had been useless from the beginning.

Just at that time the Kickapoo Indians of southern Wisconsin had sent some of their young men in war parties against the Iroquois; and learning that the latter were attacking the Great Village of the Illinois, they turned in that direction. Father La Ribourde had walked about a thousand paces into the woods, when an advance guard of three Kickapoo braves espied him. They hid themselves in the high grass, and as the unsuspecting and inoffensive old man approached, they beat him on the head with their war clubs and wantonly killed him. One account has it that they pierced him with arrows, and another that they tomahawked him. Father La Ribourde

was wearing his grey Franciscan habit, and the Indians surely knew he was not an Iroquois.

After they had perpetrated the foul deed, they scalped their victim and cast his body into a hole in the ground. Taking the breviary from which the father had been praying, they returned to their war party, which consisted of some forty mad youths. There they displayed the scalp of the murdered missionary as that of an Iroquois, and danced around it in triumph. A Jesuit missionary subsequently found Father La Ribourde's breviary in the hands of some Kickapoo Indians, and learned the sad story of the missionary's death.

From his Franciscan *confrères* in Canada, Father Hennepin learned two years later (1682) that the Illinois had pursued the Iroquois after the latter's victory over them, and had found the body of Father La Ribourde. But it seems more probable that it was while the Illinois were retreating from the ferocious onslaught of the Iroquois that they chanced upon the body of the murdered missionary. At any rate they identified the body of the venerable and kindhearted "grey-coat" who had labored among them as a missionary. Reverently they carried his remains away and buried them after the manner of their tribe.

Thus perished Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, the first to give his life in God's service on Illinois soil. "Surely," writes his companion, Father Membré, "he deserved a better fate, if, indeed, we can desire a happier one before God than to die in the exercise of the apostolic functions, by the hands of nations to whom we are sent by God."

Father La Ribourde was born in France in 1615, the same year in which the Franciscans came to the wilds of Canada as the first missionaries on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Though the last scion of a noble and wealthy house of Burgundy, he renounced the honors and riches

that were his by inheritance and became a humble Franciscan friar, joining the so-called Recollects, a stricter branch within the Franciscan order. He soon gained the reputation of extraordinary virtue and kindness of heart; and in the friary of Bethune, province of Artois, he held the office of novice master, and for some time he was also superior.

The Franciscans had been expelled from Canada by the English in 1629. When finally they were allowed to return in 1670, Father La Ribourde, although already advanced in age, at once offered to go to the New World; and he was appointed the first commissary provincial and superior of the new mission. During his term of office, which lasted three years, he resided at Quebec and was also confessor to Governor Frontenac. In 1673 he was made the first missionary of the newly established Fort Frontenac, present Kingston, Ontario, where he became a close friend of the commandant of the fort, Robert Cavalier de la Salle. He accompanied the latter in 1679 on his great expedition into the Illinois country, the purpose of which was to explore the Mississippi to its mouth and to claim its vast valley for France. In fact, he was the superior of the little band of Franciscans that went with this expedition, including besides himself Father Zénobe Membré and Father Hennepin, the latter being one of his former novices.

It was an uncommon zeal for souls that prompted Father La Ribourde to brave the hardships of such a pioneer expedition as La Salle's in spite of his advanced age and weakened condition. Several times on the way he had fainting spells, and once Father Hennepin thought his superior would not recover. But the aged missionary never lost his cheerful disposition and bravely pushed onward, encouraging his fellow travelers and ministering to their spiritual needs.

From Fort Frontenac, they crossed Lake Ontario to Niagara Falls. In a sailing vessel built above the Falls and named the *Griffin*, they continued their voyage across Lake Erie, through the Detroit River and the Lake and River St. Clair, over Lake Huron to Michilimakinac. Here the voyagers rested and separated. Father La Ribourde and the other two Franciscans accompanied La Salle's party, which sailed to Washington Island on the *Griffin* and then proceeded in canoes down the Wisconsin side of Lake Michigan, passed the site of Chicago, and skirted the southern shore as far as the St. Joseph River, Michigan. There they built Fort Miami with a chapel dedicated to St. Anthony; and there they were joined by Tonti and the others, who had come down the Michigan side of the lake.

Ascending the St. Joseph River to what is now South Bend, Indiana, they portaged to the Kankakee River and followed it as well as the Illinois as far as the camp of the Peoria Indians in the vicinity of present Peoria. Half a league farther down the river, they built Fort Crevecoeur, the first white settlement in Illinois, the time being the beginning of 1680.

Within the fort a little chapel was built. The missionaries had no wine and could not celebrate holy Mass, but the men gathered in the chapel for prayer every morning and evening. While Father La Ribourde remained at the fort as its chaplain, Father Membré did missionary work among the Peoria Indians in their temporary camp near the fort. At Father La Ribourde's bidding he accompanied these Indians in the spring when they returned to the Great Village of the Illinois Indians, some distance up the river, near Starved Rock. In the latter part of February La Salle sent Father Hennepin to the Mississippi in order to gain the friendship of the Indians dwelling on its banks and to explore the northern reaches of the river. He himself



shortly afterward set out on a hazardous overland journey all the way back to Fort Frontenac to fetch supplies.

About the middle of March, while Tonti was inspecting Starved Rock with a view to building a fort on this steep eminence, the men at Fort Crevecoeur mutinied and carried away whatever was of value. Two of their number had previously taken Father La Ribourde away, ostensibly on a visit to his *confrère* at the Great Village, and during the night they deserted him.

For the next six months, from the middle of March till the middle of September, Father La Ribourde assisted his *confrère*, Father Membré, in his missionary work among the Illinois Indians of the Great Village, who numbered from seven to eight thousand souls. Tonti with three loyal Frenchmen, the only other members of La Salle's company of more than thirty men who now remained in the Illinois country, also lived among these Indians, awaiting the return of their leader.

Father La Ribourde was adopted by an Illinois Indian, Asapista by name, a friend of La Salle. The aged missionary succeeded in gaining some knowledge of the language of these Indians, and with Father Membré he followed them when they went hunting during the summer. Though Father Membré could speak their language fairly well, the missionaries found it hard to convert them because of their immoral practices. Toward the close of August, the wild grapes began to ripen, and from them the missionaries made wine for holy Mass.

In the beginning of September, when the Illinois were assembled in their Great Village, the Iroquois from the east suddenly appeared on the banks of the Vermilion River, a tributary of the Illinois, within two leagues of the Great Village, and made an attack on the Illinois shortly afterward. For over a week Tonti and Father Membré



tried in vain to establish peace among the warring tribes. But the Iroquois were determined to inflict a crushing defeat on the Illinois, and finally they ordered the white men to depart. The little band of fugitives had gone only a short distance, when Father La Ribourde met his death on the wooded banks of the Illinois, at the place where Seneca is now situated.

"This worthy man," wrote Father Hennepin, "was wont in the lessons he made us in our novitiate, to prepare us against the like accidents by mortifications. And it seems he had some foresight of what befell him. . . . I have seen him moved with grief, considering that so many nations lived in ignorance of the way to salvation, and he was willing to lose his life, to deliver them out of their stupidity."

Fathers La Ribourde and Membré, as Shea remarks, "were, after the Jesuits, Marquette and Allouez, the first missionaries of Illinois, and are worthy of a distinguished place in her annals." Father La Ribourde was also the chaplain of the first white settlement in Illinois, as well as the first martyr in this territory, inasmuch as he suffered a violent death at the hands of Indians.<sup>(96)</sup>

A modest memorial tablet standing in the northwest corner of the church grounds at Seneca, Illinois, was dedicated in the summer of 1932.<sup>(97)</sup> The names of Father La Ribourde and of his companion, Fr. Membré, one of the martyrs of Texas, appear also on two other historical markers that have been set up recently. One of these, on the grounds of Our Lady of Mercy high school, Rochester, N.Y., was unveiled on October 13, 1935. It commemorates "the first building for Christian worship in the Rochester and Irondequoit Valley area," erected near the spot in June, 1679, by the Franciscan missionaries,

Fathers Louis Hennepin, Gabriel de la Ribourde, and Zénobe Membré; and recalls also the memory of other early missionaries and explorers. The other, which is one of the eighty some markers erected by the Chicago Charter Jubilee late in 1937, is a bronze tablet set into the low parapet separating South Shore Drive from the lakeshore at the end of Sixty-seventh Street.<sup>(98)</sup>

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## IX

### MICHIGAN

The first permanent white settlement in the western parts of New France was Detroit; and the first pastor of this pioneer French town in the west was the Franciscan friar, Father Constantin Delhalle. Beloved and revered by all because of his saintly and exemplary life, he has been deservedly acclaimed a hero of peace and a martyr of charity, inasmuch as he was slain in a noble effort to prevent further bloodshed between warring Ottawa and Miami Indians.

A professor of philosophy in his home province of Saint-André in Flanders, he came to Canada as a missionary in 1701. In the summer of that year, La Motte Cadillac was appointed commandant for Detroit and all the western portion of New France; and he at once set out with a company of soldiers and settlers from the town of Three Rivers, lying between Quebec and Montreal. With the party were also the Jesuit, Father Vaillant du Gueslis, who was to serve as missionary to the Indians, and the Franciscan, Father Constantin Delhalle, chaplain to the troops and pastor to the French. From local parish registers we learn that Father Delhalle, besides stopping at Quebec and Three Rivers, was for a short time also at Champlain while on his way to the west.

Detroit was founded on July 21, 1701; and the French immediately began the construction of Fort Pontchartrain. Five days later they began to build a little church near the fort; and since it was the feast of St. Anne, Father Delhalle named it for that saint. It was Cadillac's plan to gather at Detroit the Ottawas, Hurons, Miamis, and other western bands of Indians. This would mean the closing of the Jesuit missions at Michilimakinac and on the St. Joseph River, Michigan; and hence Fr. Vaillant du Gueslis returned to Canada. However, the Ottawas and Hurons and Miamis did congregate at the new settlement; and Father Delhalle, besides ministering to the spiritual wants of the French, probably also did some missionary work among these Indians, as did his Franciscan successors during the periods when a Jesuit missionary was not present.

On October 5, 1703, a barn near the fort took fire. The conflagration spread and destroyed the first little church and priest's house as well as the residences of Cadillac and Tonti, the former companion of La Salle. But the second church was quickly built; and Father Delhalle commenced the parish register anew on February 2, 1704, with an entry recording the baptism of Maria Teresa, a child of Cadillac. A facsimile of this entry is given by Shea,<sup>(99)</sup> who tells us that three pages of this the oldest French parish register of the west are still extant.

Two years later (1706), a conflict was unfortunately precipitated between the Miamis, friends of the French, and the Ottawas who were jealous of the Miamis, when De Bourgmont, then commandant at Detroit, beat an Ottawa Indian so violently that he died. Soon afterward, some Ottawa braves, meeting a half dozen Miamis, killed them all except one who managed to escape to the French fort. All the Miamis then fled from their village to the fort, while the Ottawas pursued them and fired upon them. Not knowing how dangerous the situation was, Father

Delhalle was walking in his garden at the time; and there some Ottawas seized him and bound him. John le Blanc, however, one of their chiefs who had been in Montreal, interfered on behalf of the friar and succeeded in having him freed. He then asked Father Delhalle to go to De Bourgmont and request him to cease firing from the fort, since the Ottawas had no designs against the French. Eager to put an end to the hostilities, the missionary went at once; but as he was entering the fort, he was joined by some Miamis, upon whom the Ottawas opened fire. One of the bullets struck the priest, and he fell dead to the ground. The gun battle was then renewed and kept up until the Ottawas suffered heavy losses and were compelled to withdraw. The Miamis left Detroit and returned to their old home on the St. Joseph River, Michigan. Father Constantin Delhalle, mourned by all, was reverently laid to rest in the little church (the second church) outside the fort.

This church was subsequently razed by order of Du Buisson, commandant at Detroit, when the French prepared to defend their post against the Foxes, Kickapoos, and Mascoutens, who had been incited by the English to destroy the new French settlement; and the Franciscan chaplain, Father Cherubin Deniau, erected a new church (third church) within the palisades. The Foxes and their allies were beaten, and Detroit was saved. But at the time of this struggle, another Franciscan, Father Leonard Vatie, was very probably killed by the Foxes and the Sioux in February, 1713. Since we possess no details of his death, however, his name has not, for the present, been added to the list of the martyrs.<sup>(100)</sup>

A new church within the palisades (fourth church) was built by the Franciscan, Father Bonaventure Leonard,<sup>(101)</sup> who arrived at Detroit in June, 1722. According to Farmer, historian of the city, this church occupied



a site on Jefferson Avenue between Griswold and Shelby Streets. The mortal remains of Father Delhalle were exhumed and placed under the platform of the altar in the new church on May 14, 1723. The Sieur Delisle who had been present at the burial of Father Delhalle directed the new pastor to the grave of his predecessor; and the coffin was quickly found and identified as that of Father Delhalle by the skull-cap, the portions of the Franciscan habit and cord, and the haircloth which were found. The latter was evidence of the fact that the first pastor of Detroit had been a saintly man, regardless of his heroic death.

Three decades later, when the population of the town was growing, another Franciscan friar, Father Simple Bocquet, who entered upon his duties on September 18, 1754, built a larger church (fifth church), according to Farmer, on ground now included in Jefferson Avenue, west of Griswold Street. Thither the remains of Father Delhalle were transferred on July 13, 1755, and placed under the altar steps, "which will permit us," wrote Father Bocquet into the parish register, "to give him a permanent and becoming sepulture conformable to his merit, and to the miracles which many trustworthy persons have reported to us to have been wrought through his intercession in favor of the whole parish."<sup>(102)</sup>

Because the first pastor of Detroit has been erroneously named Father Bernardin-Constantin Delhalle or even Father Nicholas Bernardine Constantine Delhalle<sup>(103)</sup> instead of simply Father Constantin Delhalle, as his own signature reads, he has been wrongly identified with a Franciscan who was stationed at Longueuil, Canada, during the early eighteenth century;<sup>(104)</sup> and a perplexing problem arose for the historian. Thus the historians of Longueuil wrote as early as 1889: "M. Tanguay (*Repertoire*, p. 70) writes that this Père Bernardin-Constantin de

Lhalle was killed by the Outaouais at Detroit on June 1, 1706. He cites Charlevoix (vol. II, p. 309) who makes the same statement. But it is evident that they have made a strange error, for in the register of Longueuil we have seen that P. Bernardin Constantin was pastor of the parish of Longueuil from 1713 to 1715; in 1715 he succeeded M. de Francheville. In that register his signature is found again in 1717 and down to May 23, 1729. It is difficult for us to understand how P. Charlevoix, who was sojourning in this country in 1715, could make such a mistake as to report as having died in 1706 a priest whom he must have known as the pastor of Longueuil in 1715. Probably he wanted to say 1736. On the other hand M. Tanguay (*A travers les Registres*, p. 117) refers to a note taken from the register of Detroit (Fort Pontchartrain), dated the 4th or 13th of May, 1723, which declares that the body of Père Bernadin-Constantin was exhumed and transferred to the new church in the presence of witnesses and at the instance of Père Bonaventure. This must be a case of confusion, in which a name is given to a corpse which was not there.”<sup>(105)</sup> This strange historical puzzle is indeed due to a confusion of names; but the conclusions drawn by Jodoin and Vincent are not correct. The matter resolves itself very simply when one learns that there were three different Franciscans in New France who bore the name Constantin, one of them having this name as his religious name and the other two as surname. These three friars were: (1) Father Constantin Delhalle, who was killed by the Ottawas at Detroit in 1706; (2) Father Nicholas-Bernardin Constantin, whose signature is found in the register of Longueuil, and, according to the Necrology of the Franciscan Province of Saint-Denis, France, died in Canada at the age of sixty-six in September, 1730; (3) Father Justinien Constantin, who was born at Quebec, received the name Louis-Alexandre at baptism and Justinien

when he joined the Franciscans, and made his religious profession in 1734.<sup>(106)</sup> Here is a curious instance of how one writer who takes something for granted and adds something to the signature of a man makes an egregious blunder, which is copied by other writers and causes endless difficulties to still other writers, so that the very existence of a person whose memory deserves to be honored is doubted. Detroit, we hope, will always honor the memory of its noble pioneer priest, Father Constantin Delhalle.

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## X

### NEBRASKA

Strange as it may seem, the establishment of the Spanish Franciscan missions in what is now the southern portion of the United States, from Florida and Georgia to California, was due in great measure to intercolonial conflicts and rivalries. It was only in the latter part of the sixteenth century when French Huguenots appeared on the southeastern coast of the United States, that the Spanish under Menéndez de Avíles finally succeeded in establishing themselves permanently in those parts; and the Jesuits who came with Menéndez were soon succeeded by the Franciscans who founded numerous missions on the coast of Georgia, on the Florida peninsula, and in the Apalache country. The first of the famous Franciscan missions of California, on the other side of the continent, was founded in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the Russians started to come down the Pacific coast. And when, at the close of the seventeenth century, the French under La Salle landed at Matagorda Bay, Texas, and, during the early part of the next century, penetrated into eastern Texas, the Franciscan missions of Texas were established.

Simultaneously with the latter movement, the French advanced up the Missouri and other western tributaries

of the Mississippi and threatened to weaken the Spanish hold on New Mexico; and as a result the Spaniards commenced counter movements into the region north of New Mexico. In January, 1719, France, as a member of the Quadruple Alliance for the maintenance of the Peace of Utrecht, declared war on Spain which had seized Sardinia (1717) and Sicily (1718); and since this meant war also in the colonies of these countries, a border conflict was carried on all the way from Pensacola in Florida to the Platte River in Nebraska. It was at this time that the French invaded eastern Texas, causing the Spanish Franciscans to retreat and found new missions in the vicinity of San Antonio.<sup>(107)</sup>

Pursuing Yuta and Comanche Indians as far as the Arkansas River in 1719, Governor Valverde of New Mexico learned that the French had reached the Platte River, known to the Spaniards as the Rio de Jesus-Maria. Measures for defence were immediately taken in New Mexico, and a courier was dispatched to Mexico City to warn the viceroy. In 1720, at the same time that plans were being made to reconquer eastern Texas, the viceroy issued the following orders for the New Mexican frontier: (1) alliances were to be made with the tribes northeast of New Mexico to counteract those which had been made by the French; (2) a Spanish colony was to be planted at El Cuartelejo in Kansas;<sup>(108)</sup> (3) a presidio was to be established on the Rio de Jesus-Maria in Nebraska.<sup>(109)</sup>

Probably unaware of the fact that a truce had already been declared between France and Spain, Governor Valverde then sent out Pedro de Villasur on his ill-fated expedition to the northeast. Villasur's party consisted of forty soldiers, seventy Indians, and some settlers or traders.<sup>(110)</sup> There were also two Franciscan chaplains, Fray Juan de Dios and Fray Juan Minguez, the latter having been stationed at Sante Fe in 1705, at Zuni in 1706,



and later at Nambe, Santa Cruz, and Santa Clara, in New Mexico.<sup>(111)</sup>

Setting out from Sante Fe on June 16, 1720, they traveled in a northeasterly direction, crossed the Arkansas River (Rio Napestle) on rafts (*balsas*), visited El Cuartelejo in Kansas, and then followed the Pawnee trail to the Platte River. A few pages of a diary kept by one of the members of the expedition, probably Fr. Juan Minguez, have come down to us; and they describe the movements of the Spaniards from this point to the 10th of August inclusively.<sup>(112)</sup> The reports of two survivors of the expedition, Felipe de Tamaris and Ildefonso Rael de Aguilar, enable us to complete the story.<sup>(113)</sup>

On August 6, 1720, a Tuesday, Villasur's party, having reached the Platte River, held a council of war and decided to cross the river and enter the land of the Pawnees. By noon of the next day the crossing of the Platte had been effected without any mishap; and the following day, Thursday, August 8, they continued their march to the north, following the Pawnee trail. About three miles from the Platte, they crossed Prairie Creek, and then continued the northward march for eight miles until they reached the Loup River. Without crossing this river, they followed its course for eight miles more.

At this point, about four miles northwest of Columbus, they forded the Loup River on Friday, August 9, and then followed this river along its northern bank for eight miles. There, at the confluence of the Loup and the Platte, they pitched camp; and an Indian was sent ahead to the Pawnees, who had been discovered by scouts. "May God and the Holy Virgin, His Mother," we read in the diary, "give him success. The general named the creek [Loup River] San Lorenzo. The river Jesus-Maria makes a junction with this creek at the place where we are, in such a manner that if we had not already crossed, it would be impossible

to do so.”<sup>(114)</sup> The fact is that at this place there is deep water and a swift current.<sup>(115)</sup>

The Indian, himself a Pawnee, left the Spaniards at eleven in the morning and came back at six in the evening, reporting that he had been threatened with hatchets and that the Pawnees were now on the south bank of the Platte twenty-one miles distant. The following day, Saturday, August 10, the Spaniards nevertheless advanced along the north side of the Platte until they were opposite the Pawnee camp, present Linwood; and the Indian interpreter was sent across with gifts. Here the diary ends.

After waiting in vain for a reply and learning that there were some Frenchmen among the Pawnees, the Spaniards decided to retreat on the second day, August 11, and marched twenty-nine miles to the place where they had forded the Loup River on August 9. After crossing this river, they pitched camp for the night on the south bank.

Early the next morning, as they were breaking camp to continue the march to the south, they were suddenly attacked by the Pawnees with a murderous fire of shot and arrows. The horses stampeded; and before the Spaniards could organize their forces, Villasur was slain and Father Juan Minguez was shot down where he stood. A few Spaniards and most of the Indians managed to escape; but when the smoke had cleared, forty-five men lay dead in the grass.<sup>(116)</sup>

One of those who escaped was Father Juan de Dios. In a letter, dated Michilimakinac, April 5, 1721, Charlevoix wrote: “There were two chaplains in this party, one of whom was killed in the beginning of the affair, and the other saved himself among the Missouriites who kept him prisoner, and from whom he made his escape in a very dexterous manner. He happened to have a very fine horse, and the Missouriites delighting in beholding him perform

feats of horsemanship, he took the advantage of their curiosity, in order to get out of their hands. One day as he was scampering about in their presence, he withdrew insensibly to a distance, when clapping spurs to his horse, he instantly disappeared. . . . All they [certain Indian chiefs who paid Charlevoix a visit] brought me was the spoils of the chaplain who had been killed, and they found likewise a prayer-book, which I have not seen: this was probably his breviary. I bought the pistol; the shoes were good for nothing; and the Indian would by no means part with the ointment, having taken it into his head, that it was a sovereign remedy against all sorts of evils. I was curious to know how he intended to make use of it; he answered that it was sufficient to swallow a little of it, and, let the disease be what it would, the cure was immediate; he did not say however that he had as yet made trial of it, and I advised him against it.”<sup>(117)</sup>

Already on October 5, 1720, Boisbriant, the French commandant at Kaskaskia had written: “A Spaniard escaped from the defeat recorded above. He is with the Canzes [Kansas]. We have written a Frenchman who is on the Missouri, to ransom the Spaniard and bring him this fall to Sieur Boisbriant. He hopes to draw from the Spaniard information of the commerce which the Spanish carry on with the savages and to learn from him if there are mines in that region.”<sup>(118)</sup> And on November 22, 1720, Boisbriant made the following report: “At the signal all his [the Otoptata or Pawnee chief’s] men attacked with such impetuosity that all the Spaniards were killed in less than an instant. Only four of them were quick enough to mount their horses and drive their mules ahead of them. But some young warriors seized their quivers, shot and killed two of them. The two sole survivors of the sixty Spaniards pushed on toward Mexico, which they could reach with difficulty deprived as they

were of all provisions. The chaplain of the detachment was made prisoner. The Otopata chief was bringing him to Sieur Boisbriant, but the chief was compelled to turn back on receiving news that the Renards [Fox] had come to attack his village. A man named Chevallier was ordered to go in search of the chaplain." (119)

These observations of Boisbriant are supplemented by the engineer Lallemant as follows: "The prisoner whom the savages had captured was a monk of San Juan de Dios. He escaped a little later. . . . M. de Boisbriant has shown me several documents written in Spanish, among others one which is marked Esquadras with the names of those who apparently were on guard that day. The other papers are songs or hymns and prayers to the Virgin. There are some leaves of the breviary of the Spanish monk and some rosaries with their crosses, evident proof that the savages have not made up a tale." (120)

These reports of the French repeat what they heard from the Indians, and hence are not as reliable as the depositions of Tamaris and Aguilar; but they make it clear that Fr. Juan de Dios survived the massacre of Villasur's party, escaped from one band of Indians, probably fell into the hands of another band, and finally seems to have been ransomed by the French. (121)

The war between France and England ceased when a peace was signed on March 27, 1721; and though the Spaniards in New Mexico still wished to make their position secure by establishing themselves in the region lying to the north, the plans for advancing to El Cuartelejo and the Platte River were dropped. (122)

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## XI

### COLORADO

Though the latest of the Franciscan martyrs in North America, Father Leo Heinrichs, a modern friar of the United States, will probably be the first to be raised by the Church to the honors of the altar. Only thirty years ago, on Sunday morning, February 23, 1908, while distributing holy Communion in St. Elizabeth's Church in downtown Denver, Colorado, Father Leo was shot and killed by a priest-hating anarchist; but the cause of his beatification has already been introduced in Rome and is making rapid progress.

In October, 1926, the beatification process was begun, and an ecclesiastical court of inquiry was held at Denver, Colorado, from March 1 to April 4, 1927. Similar investigating courts were conducted at Newark, N. J., and in Cologne, Germany, the seats of dioceses in which Father Leo had lived. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death, in January, 1933, the testimony collected by these diocesan courts was sent to the Holy See. At the request of Fr. Antonio Santarelli, Postulator General of the Franciscan Order, the process was officially opened at Rome on March 26, 1934.<sup>(123)</sup> The following year, January 16, 1935, Cardinal Raphael Rossi was placed in charge of the case as "Ponens";<sup>(124)</sup> and after the lapse of three more years, on January 8, 1938, the cause entered upon a new



stage when at the request of the Postulator General, Fr. Fortunato Scipioni, the process "de non cultu" showing that public veneration has not been paid to Father Leo, was commenced.<sup>(125)</sup> All this demonstrates, incidentally, how minute and careful is the investigation that is made when a person is presented as a candidate for sainthood.

Born in the village of Oestrich, near Cologne, on August 15, 1867, the future Father Leo Heinrichs was baptized on the same day and received the name Joseph. He spent his youth in innocence, and hence no one was surprised when he expressed the wish to become a priest. Just at the time that he was beginning his classical studies, however, the so-called *Kulturkampf* was launched by the Iron Chancellor; and Joseph Heinrichs was forced to leave his native land and to complete his preliminary studies under the Redemptorist Fathers in Holland. At the age of nineteen he set out for Paterson, N. J., where the Thuringian Custody of the Franciscan order had found a place of refuge; and there, on December 4, 1886, he became a follower of St. Francis. His novice-master was Father Denis Schuler, who later on was elected minister general of the entire Franciscan order.

Bishop Winand M. Wigger of Newark, N. J., ordained Friar Leo, as he was now called, to the holy priesthood on July 26, 1891. After spending a number of years at Paterson as assistant master of novices and assistant in the local parish, Father Leo, although a young priest, from 1897 to 1908 held the position of pastor successively at Singac, N. J., Croghan, N. Y., Paterson, N. J., and Denver, Colorado. In 1900, when Father Denis Schuler visited the Franciscan provinces in the United States as Visitor General, Father Leo accompanied him as his secretary. At the provincial chapter of September 9-14, 1907,<sup>(126)</sup> Father Leo was appointed pastor and superior of St. Elizabeth's in Denver, Colorado. Arriving at his

new post on September 23, he was to reside here for only five months; for it was on February 23 of the next year that he suffered a violent death at the hands of a fanatical anarchist. He was then only forty and one-half years old, and had spent less than seventeen years in the priesthood.<sup>(127)</sup>

The pastor<sup>(128)</sup> at St. Elizabeth's, Denver, usually celebrated the eight o'clock Mass on Sundays; but a change was made the evening before Sunday, February 23, 1908, and Father Leo decided to take the six o'clock Mass.<sup>(129)</sup> Before this Mass a certain Giuseppe Alia, member of a secret society of anarchists, loitered about the church, no doubt planning the escape he wanted to make afterwards. He then sat down in a pew near the pulpit, probably with the intention of accomplishing his dark deed from that vantage point. But since there was no sermon from the pulpit during the early Mass,<sup>(130)</sup> he had to wait until the Communion of the Mass. When the people approached the altar rail to receive holy Communion, he too got up and knelt down with the rest. Though he was a sinister-looking individual, dressed in shabby and dirty clothes, nobody paid any heed to him, absorbed as they all were in their own devotions. After Father Leo had placed the Sacred Host on his tongue, the unhappy man spat It into his hand and flung It into Father Leo's face, so that It fell to the floor outside the Communion rail.<sup>(131)</sup> The next moment he whipped out a revolver from under his coat and fired a bullet through the heart of the priest.<sup>(132)</sup>

In that supreme moment, forgetful of the mortal wound in his heart and unmindful of all that passed around him, Father Leo had but one concern and that was to save the Holy Eucharist from desecration. He turned toward the side altar of the Blessed Virgin, and as he fell to the floor succeeded in placing the ciborium on the altar step, spilling only a few Sacred Hosts. And even

these he tried to replace with one last effort. Mr. Fred Fisher, a good friend of Father Leo, who had been waiting to receive holy Communion rushed into the sanctuary and tried to relieve the dying priest's sufferings by lifting him by the waist and with the help of other men carrying him to the middle of the sanctuary. <sup>(133)</sup>

Advised by an altar boy who had been sent to the friary by Mr. Fisher, Father Eusebius Schlingmann and Father Wulstan Workman both hurried to the church. With his mind still fixed on the Blessed Sacrament, Father Leo called attention to the Sacred Hosts on the floor. These Father Eusebius reverently picked up; and as he passed taking the ciborium back to the tabernacle, Father Leo for the last time bowed his head in adoration. Meanwhile Father Wulstan gave Father Leo absolution and administered Extreme Unction. Rose Fisher, who was kneeling beside Father Leo, repeated the aspirations: "Jesus, for Thee I live, for Thee I die; Jesus, Thine I am in life and in death; Jesus, Mary, Joseph, into your hands I commend my soul." By the motion of his lips he showed that he was trying to repeat the words after her. After a painful agony of about fifteen minutes he expired.

A week before his death, while addressing the Young Ladies' Sodality on the subject of the Blessed Virgin as patron of a happy death, Father Leo remarked: "If I had my choice of a place where to die, I would choose to die at the feet of the Blessed Virgin." <sup>(134)</sup> This wish of his was carried out literally, for it was at the foot of Mary's altar, that he was shot down by an enemy of God and His Blessed Mother. There is no conclusive indication, however, that Father Leo had a premonition of his death. The day before, Mr. Fisher paid him a visit and found him quite happy over a trip that he was planning to make to his native country. <sup>(135)</sup> Still this much is certain, everything was providentially arranged for the supreme sacrifice.

Though he usually went to confession on Tuesdays, he made his weekly confession to Father Eusebius the evening before his death. A last-minute change on Saturday night made Father Leo the victim rather than one of the other two priests. The holy Mass he celebrated on Sunday morning seems to have been offered up for himself, though he did not know about it. Impelled by a strange sense of impending tragedy, the mother of the boy who served at Father Leo's Mass, had sent her boy the day before to Father Leo with the request that he offer up his Mass the next morning for her special intention. <sup>(136)</sup>

After shooting Father Leo through the heart, the murderer ran down the aisle of the church, threatening to use his weapon against anyone who would try to hinder his escape. At the door, however, he stumbled over a carpet; and after a desperate struggle, he was overpowered. He admitted that his one aim was to murder a priest, any priest, and that he would have continued to kill other priests if he had not been caught. After the Supreme Court of Colorado found him guilty of first degree murder and sentenced him to be hanged, Giuseppe Alia said: "Provided he who died was a priest, anything else matters little." A short time before his execution, one of the Franciscans of St. Elizabeth's visited him in the hope of moving his stony heart to repentance; but the priest was greeted only with curses and oaths. As the noose was fitted about Alia's neck at the State Penitentiary in Cañon City, Colorado, the unhappy man spoke his last words: "Death to the priests!" All this would seem to indicate that Father Leo's death was that of a true martyr—that it was *mors, in odium fidei illata, et patienter tolerata*. Of course, Father Leo was not given the alternative of denying his Faith or suffering death; but then there are many others whom we honor as martyrs and who had no such choice.



Father Leo's funeral was the greatest Denver had witnessed in years; in fact, it was more like a triumphal procession. At the solemn Requiem Mass celebrated in St. Elizabeth's Church on Wednesday, February 26, the governor of Colorado and other prominent state and city officials were present and the church was crowded to capacity, while five thousand more stood outside. Father, now Monsignor, William O'Ryan preached an eloquent sermon, in which he said among other things: "Father Leo was struck down, the murderer confesses, because he was a priest, and not for any fancied grievance or imagined injury that the murderer had received from him. He never knew the dead priest, he had never spoken with him; their lives, except in that one dread moment of blood and sacrilege, had never touched. But the fiend knew that the priest was some outward symbol and present ambassador of that only authority by which kings reign and magistrates prescribe justice and human law rears itself in awful dignity and finds its sanction—the authority and governance of God. And because the murderer had revolted against God's authority his rebellion went to the uttermost logical ending in action—he revolted against its presence in the world in human laws until his revolt gushed forth in human blood; he revolted against its outward symbol, the priest, and slew him. The murderer was logical; the anarchist is never truer to his diabolical principles than when he slays a Catholic priest and slays him at the altar of God. It matters not that the individual priest has little of the world's goods and power, nor desires them for himself; it matters not even that he is a follower of that Francis of Assisi who chose Lady Poverty for his bride and the poorest things of this world for his love; wherever he is, the Catholic priest carries in himself the Church of authority and of God and externates her to men. He is an officer of that great army whose tramp



is heard around the world, whose discipline is most perfect, whose organization is most minutely defined, whose banner is forever set over against disorder and anarchy in the speech, in the heart, and in the actions of men as opposed to just government and divine rule.”<sup>(137)</sup>

Business was suspended along the line of march, as a cortege of two thousand conducted the body of Father Leo to the railway station for removal to Paterson, N. J. On the station platforms enroute, crowds who had never heard of Father Leo until his tragic death gathered to hail the passing martyr, the “saint”. At Paterson, it is estimated that twenty thousand persons viewed the body as it lay in state in the Franciscan church; and three thousand marched in the funeral procession when it was taken to its grave in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery.<sup>(138)</sup>

Though Father Leo had always been regarded as a model Franciscan and a good priest, no one had noticed anything in his exterior conduct that was very singular or distinguished. After his death, however, it became manifest that for years he had endured a self-inflicted martyrdom of heroic penance. When his body was taken to the morgue, the coroner removed three belts which Father Leo had worn as instruments of penance around the waist and the upper part of the arms. They were belts of leather, studded with six rows of pointed hooks, which protruded and pierced the flesh. The entire waist line was terribly scarred and callous from many wounds. All who saw this were surprised that infection had not set in. No one, not even his most intimate *confrères* had suspected that Father Leo practiced penance in such a heroic degree.<sup>(139)</sup>

Not satisfied with this form of mortification, Father Leo had also been wont to sleep on a wooden door. After his death it was found in his private room, which contained only a few simple furnishings. During his life, Father

Leo had appeared to be too strict and stern in the mind of some of his *confrères*; but afterwards they recalled his many acts of kindness, his aversion to the slightest honor that might be conferred on him, his heroic attempts to overcome his troublesome temper.<sup>(140)</sup> Nor can it be said that he was not human; for the fishing rod that he used is still preserved at Paterson, and one of his *confrères* has made the remark: "Anybody who likes to fish is a pretty good fellow, and Father Leo liked to fish."<sup>(141)</sup>

As a pastor, Father Leo was known as a competent administrator and successful builder. When he was appointed pastor at Croghan, N. Y., the parish buildings had just been destroyed by a conflagration; but in two years (1902-1904) he managed to build and pay for a new church, friary, school, and convent. As pastor at Paterson (1904-1907) he built an addition to the parochial school and hall; and at Denver he had bought the property adjoining the parish school and was preparing to enlarge the school building, when death overtook him in the midst of his labors.

Above all, however, he was a conscientious and zealous shepherd of souls. Towards children in particular he was all tenderness and kindness, and he seemed to possess an extraordinary ability of understanding the problems of youth. Wrote Father Eusebius: "In our parish today there are no hearts heavier than those of the little children to whom he was indeed a father. He took upon himself the special care of the children and found a favorite in each."<sup>(142)</sup>

The poor and the sick were likewise special objects of Father Leo's charity and solicitude. "Although he had been in our midst only five months," wrote Father Eusebius, "he had endeared himself to all. The poor, especially, have lost in him a true friend. He fed many daily at his

door; he visited the sick and secured for them in case of need the medical and other necessary attention.”<sup>(143)</sup> While he was pastor at Paterson, a small-pox epidemic broke out, and a pest house was opened in Totowa. Heedless of the danger of contracting the disease himself, Father Leo spent many hours in that place of misery and suffering, giving spiritual and physical comfort to the plaque-stricken and assisting the dying in their last moments.<sup>(144)</sup>

Father Leo was also a man of studious habits. He wrote out his sermons in painstaking long hand, and even found time to make an English translation, from the German, of a short biography of Father Victorin Delbrouck, a young Belgian Franciscan who died a martyr in southern Hupeh, China, 1898, at the age of twenty-eight. This life, in turn, was based on the letters and reports of the subject's friend and *confrère*, Father, later Bishop, Theotim Verhaeghen, who likewise won the martyr's crown in China, 1904, only thirty-seven years old. Father Leo's translation was published after his death, and in the preface contains the following editorial remark: "This translation was found among the papers of the late Rev. Fr. Leo Heinrichs, O.F.M. Devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, as was the subject of this sketch, and, greatly admiring the life of Father Victorin, he too met a violent death because he was a servant of the Lord."<sup>(145)</sup>

Lastly, Father Leo was a man of prayer, distinguishing himself by his devotion to Our Lady and his love for the Holy Eucharist. He spent many hours before the Blessed Sacrament, and never grew weary of recommending in the most eloquent terms the practice of frequent Communion. "It has been said," writes Father Callahan (p. 334), "that Father Leo anticipated by two years the decree of Pope Pius X on daily Communion. The novena of Communions on nine successive days in reparation for

the sacrilegious Communion of the anarchist who shot him has been found particularly efficacious in obtaining favors." The circumstances of Father Leo's death were such that he may well be styled a martyr of the priesthood and of the Holy Eucharist.

On the wall beside the altar of the Blessed Virgin in St. Elizabeth's Church, Denver, where Father Leo was felled by the assassin's gun, there is a bronze plaque with a bust of the martyred priest in relief and the following inscription:

IN YOUR PRAYERS REMEMBER THE SOUL OF  
REVEREND FATHER  
LEO HEINRICHS  
OF THE  
ORDER OF FRIARS MINOR  
BORN IN OESTRICH, GERMANY, AUGUST 15, 1867  
HE ENTERED THE ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS,  
DECEMBER 4, 1886  
WAS ORDAINED PRIEST, JULY 26, 1891  
WAS SHOT AND KILLED  
WHILST DISTRIBUTING HOLY COMMUNION  
IN THE SANCTUARY OF  
THIS CHURCH  
FEBRUARY 23, 1908

Then follows a quotation from 1 Cor., XI, 23, 24, 26. Thousands visit this spot and kneel before Mary's altar, but they do not pray for the soul of Father Leo. Instead they ask the Servant of God, Father Leo, to obtain favors for themselves, and oftentimes they get what they want.<sup>(146)</sup>

In November, 1911, the remains of the friars buried in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery, Paterson, N. J., were removed to a new plot in the same cemetery; and on that occasion the body of Father Leo was examined. The outside box

had rotted, the casket was thoroughly watersoaked, the satin lining of the latter as well as the brown habit with which the body was clothed crumbled at the touch—but the body itself showed not the slightest sign of decomposition.<sup>(147)</sup> Though there is nothing to distinguish Father Leo's grave from the rest, hardly a day passes on which some pious pilgrim does not visit it to address his prayers to Father Leo. Hundreds join a pilgrimage to the grave, which for the past five years has been conducted annually by the Third Order of New York. Numerous cases have been reported in which it is alleged that remarkable favors have been granted to those who sought Father Leo's intercession.<sup>(148)</sup> The author himself must confess that on one occasion, though it was a matter of minor importance perhaps, his prayers were immediately heard when he asked Father Leo to help him. An uncanonized saint may not be invoked publicly, but that does not hinder anyone from directing his private prayers to such a friend of God as Father Leo. Those who receive assistance through Father Leo's intercession, should report the favors thus obtained. We may yet live to see the day when the United States will have its St. Leo of Denver.



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## XII

### CANADA

Some of the Franciscan martyrs of the United States were missionaries of New France; namely, those of Illinois and Michigan and two of those who died in Texas. In Canada proper, the protomartyr was likewise a Franciscan, Father Nicolas Viel.

For three years Father Viel had begged his superiors to send him as a missionary to New France. Finally, while he was at Montargis, his request was granted. Having received the blessing of the papal nuncio and of his religious superiors, he and Brother Gabriel Sagard set out from Paris on March 18, 1623, embarked at Dieppe in the beginning of April, and without suffering any mishaps during the voyage arrived at Quebec on June 28.

It so happened that just at this time Father Joseph Le Caron was returning to the country of the Hurons; and the two new missionaries, "full of fire and charity," obtained permission to accompany him. Father Le Caron was one of the four Franciscans who were the first missionaries of Canada proper (excluding Acadia). In the very year in which they arrived on the banks of the St. Lawrence, 1615, this valiant pioneer had penetrated into the interior as far as distant Huronia, and had begun a mission among the Wyandots at Carragouha near Thunder Bay. At that

time he remained among these Indians for about a year and learned much concerning their language and customs.

Now he was returning with Father Viel and Brother Sagard, besides two *donnés* (laymen who volunteered their services as helpers of the missionaries), eleven Frenchmen sent along by Champlain, and some trustworthy Indians. The party set out from Three Rivers, where the local Franciscan missionary had been host to the new recruits for two days; and thence they made the journey to Georgian Bay by canoes, following the usual route. When they arrived at their destination in August, 1623, the Indians, who appeared to be almost impervious to the truths of the Christian religion, nevertheless manifested great joy on seeing Father Le Caron again. Five or six Frenchmen were still residing among the Hurons; and the little cabin which Father Le Caron had built was still there.<sup>(149)</sup> Measuring twenty-five feet by twelve or fifteen feet and built in the form of an arbor, it stood on a little hill, at the foot of which ran a pleasant stream. Covered on the outside with bark and lined on the inside with pieces of wood, the little house was divided by wooden partitions into three rooms: a kitchen, which also served as a dormitory and parlor; a refectory and storage room; and a chapel.

At least they had a shelter, but that did not save these pioneers from the hardships of an uncivilized frontier. Brother Sagard is the author of the following naive description of the missionaries' mode of life: "We took our meals on a rush mat on the ground. A billet of wood was our pillow by night, our cloaks a blanket in default of the one which we had, out of charity, given to the sick Indians. The ground or our knees was our table, not like the Indians who sit on the ground like monkeys, for we sat on logs, our ordinary chairs. We had no napkins to wipe our hands but leaves of Indian corn. We had, indeed,

some knives, but they were not at all necessary at our meals, having no bread to cut. Meat, too, was so rare with us that we often passed six weeks or two whole months without tasting a bit, unless a small piece of dog, bear, or fox, given to us in banquets, except at Easter time and in autumn, when our Frenchmen gave us abundantly from their hunting. Our ordinary food was that of the Indians—that is to say, sagamity, made of meal of Indian corn, boiled in water, squashes, and peas, into which, to give it some flavor, we put marjoram, purslain, and a kind of balsam, with wild onions which we found in the woods and fields. Our drink was the water of the stream which ran at the foot of our house.”<sup>(150)</sup>

Though the results of their work were meagre and disheartening, the missionaries refused to give up and diligently cooperated in the study of the Huron language. All three, Fathers Le Caron, and Viel, and Brother Sagard, made valuable contributions in this respect; and the dictionary subsequently published by the latter probably was the work of them all.<sup>(151)</sup> No doubt they realized that they were pioneers and must prepare the soil and lay the foundations for the workers who would come after them. They must do the sowing; others would reap the harvest.

After spending ten months in the Huron country, Father Le Caron and Brother Sagard returned to Quebec, arriving there in July, 1624; while Father Viel was left in charge of the Huron mission. The latter was determined to stick to his post, and his persevering efforts were finally crowned with some success. In a letter that he sent to Quebec, he asked to be allowed to live and die in this mission.<sup>(152)</sup>

The following summer, 1625, when the Hurons were ready to go down to Quebec to trade, they invited Father

Viel to go along; and "he seized the opportunity to come and make his retreat at our convent of Our Lady of the Angels," writes Father Le Clercq, "and even took one of his disciples, little Ahautsic, whom he had instructed in the faith and baptized. There were in the party many pretty good Hurons, among whom were some brutal men, enemies of religion, yet pretending to love and respect the good Father. A storm scattered the canoes, and unfortunately this religious was left in his with three wicked and impious Indians, who hurled him into the water with his little disciple, Ahautsic, at the last Sault descending to Montroyal, the deep and rapid waters of which engulfed them in a moment. They saved only his chapel and some writings which he had drawn up in books of bark paper, comprising a kind of mission journal; he had left his dictionary and other memoirs among the Hurons in the hands of the French. The place where this good religious was drowned is still called the 'Sault au Recollet.' "

"If we may acknowledge as martyrs," continues Father Le Clercq, "those who die in apostolic labors either by the cruelty of the Indians of these countries, who have little or no light of any divinity, true or false, we might justly acknowledge Father Nicholas and his little disciple as the two first martyrs of Canada. He was moreover a very great religious, who, after having lived in the odor of sanctity, came to Canada only from his burning zeal for martyrdom. The pains and toil he had to undergo in his mission, as reported by Frenchmen worthy of credit, cannot be described. He had produced much fruit; and, finally we learned from the Hurons themselves assembled at the trade the cruel manner in which he and his neophyte had been put to death, whom God had received into his glory as the first fruits of the Huron mission. The Hurons had scattered his vestments, except the chalice; strips of them

were gathered, of which they had made trimmings in their style.”<sup>(153)</sup>

Father Le Clercq, whose work was published in 1691, is mistaken when he writes that the Hurons in 1625 reported the tragic death of Father Viel at the hands of three of their own number; what was learned at the time was merely the fact that Father Viel and Ahautsic or Ahuntsic drowned in the rapids of the *Rivière des Prairies*, the name given to the St. Lawrence River on the north side of the island on which Montreal is situated.

For this reason Brother Sagard's works, published in 1632 and 1636, speaks merely of the drowning of Father Viel; so also the first reports of the Jesuits, who in the same year in which Father Viel died had come over from France at the invitation of the Franciscans to assist them in their missionary labors. Thus Father Charles Lallemant, S.J., in a letter to the Sieur de Champlain, dated Kebec, July 28, 1625, writes that “poor Father Nicolas was drowned in the last of the rapids.”<sup>(154)</sup> And the following year, on August 1, the same Jesuit wrote from “Kebec” to his brother, Father Jerome: “When coming down the last of the rapids, his [Father Viel's] canoe upset and he was drowned.”<sup>(155)</sup>

Later on, however, after both Franciscans and Jesuits had been forcibly removed from New France by the English in 1629 and the Jesuits alone had been permitted to return in 1632, the truth in regard to Father Viel's death came out. In his relation of August 7, 1634, Father Paul Lejeune, S.J., wrote: “Since the death of a poor unhappy Frenchman [Étienne Brulé], murdered by the Hurons, it has been discovered that these Barbarians caused the drowning of Reverend Father Nicolas, Recolect, considered a very worthy man.”<sup>(156)</sup> Father, now Saint, John de Brebeuf, S.J., in his Relation of the Hurons, dated Ihonatiria, July 16, 1636, likewise declares that “the



Nation of the Bear, as the most wicked of all the tribes [of the Hurons] . . . murdered Étienne Bruslé and good Father Nicolas, the Recolet, with his companion.”<sup>(157)</sup> These statements should convince even the Abbé René Desrochers that Father Viel’s death was not the result of accidental drowning, but was cruelly inflicted by certain Huron Indians.<sup>(158)</sup>

“He was universally regretted,” writes Father Le Clercq of the protomartyr of Canada, “by the French, Indians, and even by the Huguenots, who were won by his talents and merit. The ordinary rites and suffrages were performed for him, and his funeral service was celebrated with much solemnity, although every one was persuaded that God had already put him in possession of his glory.”<sup>(159)</sup>

In regard to the dictionary of the Huron language which was enriched by the studies of Father Viel, Father Le Clercq remarks: “The dictionary of the Huron language was first drafted by Father Joseph Le Caron in 1616. The little Huron whom he took with him when he returned to Quebec aided him greatly to extend it. He also added rules and principles during his second voyage to the Hurons. He next increased it by notes which Father Nicholas sent him, and at last perfected it by that which that holy religious had left when descending to Quebec, and which the French placed in his hands: so that Father George, Procurator of the mission in France, presented it to the king with the two preliminary dictionaries of the Algomquin and Montagnais languages in 1625.”<sup>(160)</sup>

The *Mortuologe des Freres mineurs Recolets* in the archives of the Seminary of Quebec gives June 25, 1625 as the day of Father Viel’s death, and adds that his body was recovered and interred in the Franciscan chapel of St. Charles at Quebec. It is also claimed that he was buried on the Île de la Visitation, where a cross was erected in his honor at an early date.<sup>(161)</sup> The principal monuments

for Father Viel and Ahuntsic, the protomartyrs of Canada, are the two statues which were unveiled at the village of Sault au Recollet (now a part of Montreal) in 1903. And in 1915, when Canada observed the tercentenary of the coming of the friars, a large granite stone surmounted by a cross was set up likewise at Sault au Recollet. On one side of this memorial there is an inscription commemorating the martyrdom of Father Viel and Ahuntsic, and on the other the first holy Mass celebrated in these parts by Father Le Caron in 1615.<sup>(162)</sup>

It will be well to make mention also of two other friars who are styled martyrs by some, though according to the rules we have set down, they are not included in our list of martyrs. The first of these is Fr. Guillaume Poullain, who as early as 1619 was taken a prisoner by the Iroquois while he was on his way from Quebec to Sault St. Louis. He was held by these Indians for a while and tortured by them in cruel fashion. Despite the wounds he had received, he continued his missionary labors after being freed, and baptized a considerable number of Indians. In 1622 he returned to Quebec and thence to France in order to regain his health; but he died on March 12, 1623, probably in consequence of the harsh treatment he had received at the hands of the Iroquois.<sup>(163)</sup> The other is Fr. Bernardin Sebastien, who in the same year died of starvation in the woods of Acadia, now Nova Scotia, when he lost his way while going from the post at Miscou to the chief mission station on the St. John's River.<sup>(164)</sup>

Information kindly supplied by Fr. John Lenhart, O. M.Cap., enables us to add a brief notice regarding a Capuchin martyr of Nova Scotia, Fr. Leonard of Chartres. He was killed by the English in 1654 or 1655 at Port Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia, because of his defense of Catholic settlers and Catholic Indians.<sup>(165)</sup> Fr. Lenhart

has also called our attention to an Irish Capuchin missionary of Virginia, Fr. Christopher Plunkett, who was imprisoned by the English and died as a result of the cruelties inflicted on him in 1697. Very probably, however, this martyr died on the island of Jamaica and not on the North American continent.<sup>(166)</sup>

During the half century from 1672 to 1720 English and Scotch Franciscans likewise toiled as missionaries in Maryland and adjoining colonies; and one of their number at least seems to have earned the title of a martyr of charity. This zealous missionary was Father Basil Hobart, who maintained a chapel and residence a mile and a half from Newport. During the year in which he died, 1698, a pestilence was raging in Maryland; and Father Hobart was one of the missionaries whose zeal and devotedness to the sick was misinterpreted by the Maryland legislature as "extravagance and presumptuous behavior," and regarding whom certain jealous and fanatical bigots lodged protests with Governor Nicholson. Writes Shea: "The Franciscan Father Basil Hobart and the Jesuit lay brother Nicholas Willart, whose deaths are reported in 1698, were perhaps victims of their zeal, early pioneers in the long catalogue of priests and religious who have been martyrs of charity in the land of Mary."<sup>(167)</sup>



*Old Portrait painting of Father Diaz (left) and Father Moreno (right) at the former Missionary College of Santa Cruz de Queretaro, Mexico.*





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## XIII

### MEXICO

#### BOY MARTYRS

In and around Mexico City, where the military conquest of Cortés was followed by a spiritual conquest which was no less remarkable, martyrs are singularly absent until modern times. However, though none of the missionaries from the Old World were martyred here during the colonial period, the early records tell us of several native boys, helpers of the missionaries, who won the martyr's crown. Thus we know of little Cristóbal who was killed at Tlaxcala by his own father, a pagan priest. And Fr. Joseph Thompson has kindly supplied the names of two other boy martyrs, Antonio and Juan, who had been entrusted by Father Martín de Valencia, the Franciscan, to Father Bernardino Minaya, a Dominican. It was especially among the wild tribes of the northern provinces that the blood of martyrs flowed in abundance.<sup>(168)</sup>

#### PROTOMARTYR, BR. JUAN CALERO

The protomartyr of Mexico was a Franciscan lay brother, Brother Juan Calero of the friary of Etzatlan in the province or state of Jalisco. With his father Guardian, Fr. Antonio de Cuellar, subsequently also a martyr, he had labored for a considerable time among the natives of the

vicinity and had baptized many of them. While Fr. Antonio was away attending a provincial chapter, some of the neophytes rebelled, burned their villages, and retired into the mountains of Tequila. Brother Juan was selected for the task of bringing back the rebels. Having prepared himself for this hazardous undertaking by the reception of the sacraments, he set out with three native boys who served as catechists; but he was unable to induce the rebels to return. He and his companions were killed, not by the Indians with whom he had pleaded, but by others who happened to appear on the scene, June 10, 1541.<sup>(169)</sup> This date coincides with that of the so-called Mixton war.

#### ANTONIO DE CUELLAR

Returning from the Provincial Chapter he had attended at the time Brother Calero had lost his life, Fr. Antonio de Cuellar was likewise murdered by Indians near Etzatlan on August 14, apparently in the same year, 1541.<sup>(170)</sup>

#### BERNARDO COSSIN

The zealous French Franciscan, Fr. Bernardo Cossin (Cozin) in 1564 was killed with arrows by the Indians in the Sierra or mountains near Durango, after the Franciscans had established friaries a short time before at Nombre de Dios and Durango.<sup>(171)</sup>

#### MANY MARTYRS UNKNOWN

At Topia Indians of the same territory in the same year killed two unnamed Franciscans, one old and the other young.<sup>(172)</sup> But it seems that there were many others of whom we have no record. A report to the Cardinal Protector Francesco Barberini, prepared in 1635 by the General Commissary Fr. Francisco de Ocaña,

declares that more than fifty friars engaged in missionary work were killed by the Indians. Of course, this number may well include martyrs in territory which is now part of the United States. Fr. Arlegui, chronicler of the Franciscan Province of Zacatecas, writes regretfully that the names of all the martyrs have not been handed down; and Fr. Lemmens is of the opinion that it will hardly be possible for historians ever to make a complete list of the Franciscan martyrs in New Spain during the sixteenth century. (173)

### JUAN DE TAPIA

One or two years after Fr. Cossin's death two more Franciscans were killed by the Indians of Durango, Fr. Juan de Tapia, who according to Mendieta had baptized ten thousand Indians, and the *donado* or Tertiary-brother, Lucas, who had been a companion of Fr. Juan de Padilla. They were on the way to a Provincial Chapter, when they were attacked by Indians in the mountains of Durango at a place called Tapias. Taking their crucifixes in their hands, they knelt down and were shot to death with arrows. The eminent French student of New Spain, Robert Ricard, informs us that on his extended missionary journeys, Fr. Juan de Tapia had also visited Sinaloa and described that province in a letter to Viceroy Velasco, dated May 7, 1556. (174)

### FR. FRANCISCO LORENZO AND BR. JUAN

Another Father Guardian of Etzatlan in Jalisco, Fr. Francisco Lorenzo, and his companion, Brother Juan, together with several catechist boys, were killed by Indians while on a mission journey. Mendieta does not indicate the year, but Cuevas thinks it was 1560. The Indians were, no doubt, of the neighborhood. They are called Chichi-

mecos; but Mendieta makes it clear that this was merely a general name for all pagan and barbarous tribes.<sup>(175)</sup>

#### FRANCISCO DONZEL AND PEDRO DE BURGOS

Two other members of the Franciscan Province of Jalisco, Frs. Francisco Donzel and Pedro de Burgos, were shot to death in 1567 (according to Cuevas) by pagan Indians, while they were on a journey from Mexico to Michoacan.<sup>(176)</sup>

#### PABLO DE AZEVEDO AND BR. JUAN DE HERRERA

As early as 1567 also, four Franciscans won the martyr's crown in the present state of Sinaloa. Fr. Pablo de Azevedo, a native of Portugal, and Brother Juan de Herrera, were shot to death with arrows by Indians near Culiacan, the present capital of Sinaloa. Two additional Franciscans whose names are not known were likewise killed in Sinaloa in the same year.<sup>(177)</sup>

In the same year an unnamed Franciscan was killed at a place called Punta Elena, while on his way to Saltillo in Coahuila.<sup>(178)</sup>

#### JUAN CERRATO

About 1580, Fr. Juan Cerrato (Cerrado, de Serrato), the Fr. Guardian of the friary at Sombrerete in the province of Zacatecas, learned that some wild Indians in the mountains still kept and honored a large number of idols. He went to the spot, called Atotonilco, and with the help of some loyal Indians threw the idols on the ground and destroyed their altars. But this fearless deed cost them their lives; the pagans suddenly came upon them and shot them all to death.<sup>(179)</sup>

## LUIS DE VILLALOBOS

Fr. Luis de Villalobos was on his way from Zacatecas to Guadalajara when he was killed by Indians in 1582 near Colotlán, Zacatecas, in an arroyo called Del Fraile.<sup>(180)</sup>

## ANDRES DE AYALA AND FRANCISCO GIL

Fr. Andrés de Ayala, Guardian of the friary at Guainamota, Jalisco, and Fr. Francisco Gil, lost their lives in a revolt of the Indians which had been provoked by an injustice committed by certain Spaniards. According to Mendieta, these men, after securing the permission of the Audiencia took possession of a mine claimed by the Indians. And when the Father Guardian showed the Indians the decree favoring the Spaniards, he and his companions were murdered, 1585.<sup>(181)</sup>

## ANDRES DE LA PUEBLA

Fr. Andrés de la Puebla was on the way to the Indians of the Sierra de Topia in Durango and had not yet reached Canatlán, when he was met by a large band of hostile Indians; and after cruelly torturing the missionary, the savages finally killed him with arrows, 1586.<sup>(182)</sup>

## JUAN DEL RIO

In the same year, Fr. Juan del Rio, Guardian of the friary of Santa Maria de las Charcas in the province of San Luis Potosi, was assisting the dying after an attack of Indians on a ranch near the friary, when the Indians appeared again on the scene and also killed the missionary.<sup>(183)</sup>

## MARTIN ALTAMIRANO

After a successful missionary career, Fr. Martin Altamirano was murdered, 1606, in the mountains near Mon-



terrey, province of Nuevo Leon. His murderers were pagan Indians of Silla, who had witnessed with chagrin how this apostolic man "depopulated the fields of Indians in order to fill the pueblos with Christians." (184)

#### PEDRO GUTIERREZ

A decade later (1616) Fr. Pedro Gutierrez was killed by wild Tepehuan Indians at Atotonilco or Santa Catalina in Durango, where the Jesuits had begun to do missionary work. While Fr. Pedro was in the town of Santa Catalina, the place was attacked by Tepehuan Indians; and the Spaniards gathered in a house to defend themselves. But when the Indians set fire to the building on all sides, Fr. Pedro went out to negotiate with them only to be met by a volley of arrows. The other Spaniards perished in the same way or in the fire. Fr. Pedro's remains were recovered and buried in the college which the Jesuits had founded at Papasquiario. (185)

#### DIEGO DELGADO AND JUAN HENRIQUEZ

The martyrs of Mexico enumerated thus far lost their lives in various provinces north of Mexico City; but there were two martyrs also in the southern province of Yucatan: Fr. Diego Delgado and Brother Juan Henriquez, his companion. After the friars had founded three new mission stations among the Indians in southern Yucatan, Fr. Delgado and his companion were cruelly murdered by the Itzas, 1624, the former being cut into pieces and his head set on a stake. (186)

#### TOMAS ZIGARRAN AND FRANCISCO LABADO

In the northern provinces, however, other missionaries

were martyred from time to time as before. Thus the two Fathers, Tomás Zigarrán and Francisco Labado, were murdered, 1645, in an uprising of the Conchos of Chihuahua.<sup>(187)</sup>

When heathen Indians set fire to the church at Tamitas in what is now the state of San Luis Potosi, Fr. Francisco Montero was burned to death while praying for the forgiveness of his murderers. This must have occurred after 1647, since the Tamitas mission was founded in that year. Fr. Montero was a member of the Franciscan custody of Tampico, which was dependent on the province of Santo Evangelio.<sup>(188)</sup>

Regarding the next martyr, Fr. Manuel Beltrán, little more seems to be known than what Fr. Escalante writes briefly about him.<sup>(189)</sup> And because he says that this friar was killed at a mission of Tanos Indians, he has been enumerated by some among the martyrs of New Mexico.<sup>(190)</sup> At the time of his death (1684), San Cristóbal, near Galisteo, New Mexico, was the only existing Tanos pueblo;<sup>(191)</sup> but there was then no mission at this place because of the great revolt of 1680. Instead of Tanos, Fr. Escalante should have written Janos, unless it be that his manuscript has not been read correctly. Fr. Escalante tells us that in 1684 the Zumas and Tanos (Janos), as well as the Mansos of the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, imitating the example of the pueblo Indians of New Mexico, rebelled, and through the agency of pagan Mansos killed their missionary, Fr. Manuel Beltrán, and destroyed the mission church of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Tanos (Janos). We know from other sources<sup>(192)</sup> that there was a Janos uprising in 1684; but just where their mission, Soledad, was, is difficult to say. It must have been somewhere in northern Chihuahua, near the border-line of New Mexico, Texas,

and Mexico. Though the place has not been determined, there is no uncertainty about the martyrdom of Fr. Beltrán.

#### ESTEBAN BENITEZ

Near the place called San Juan del Rio in Durango, Fr. Esteban Benitez was killed by wild Indians while he was making a journey, 1686.<sup>(193)</sup>

#### RAMIRO ALVAREZ AND DIEGO HEVIA

Angered by the reprimands they had received from their missionaries, the Indians at Milpillas in Durango in 1704 put to death the two Fathers, Ramiro Alvarez and Diego Hevia.<sup>(194)</sup>

#### JUAN C. GIL AND FELIPE GUILLEN

The last two of the Franciscan martyrs of colonial Mexico won the martyr's crown in Sonora, south of the Mexican border. Fr. Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernabé (Barnabé), presidente of the Sonora missions, was stoned to death by Indians at Carrizal on March 7, 1773;<sup>(195)</sup> and Fr. Felipe Guillen, missionary of Tubutama, Sonora, was murdered by Seris or Apaches on April 27, 1778, while on his way from Santa Teresa to Ati.<sup>(196)</sup>

Born in the Villa de Alfambra, Aragón, Fr. Juan Gil joined the local Franciscan province and studied theology in the Convento de Nuestra Señora de Jesus de Zaragoza. In 1763 he went to the missions of New Spain and became a member of the college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. He was assigned to the missions in northern Sonora in 1767, and was appointed their *presidente*. On November 17, 1772, he founded a new mission at Carrizal on the coast of Mar Roxo de Californias (Gulf of California) for the ferocious Seris of that place and of Tiburón Island; but

before four months had elapsed, on March 7, 1773, these Indians clubbed and stoned him to death. He was forty-five years old, and had been a missionary for ten years. Fr. Bringas, who knew him personally and met him in Sonora in 1771, writes that this martyr, the first of the Querétaran Franciscans to be done to death in Sonora, was venerated as a saint. "Whether he and the rest," he adds, "who suffered a violent death at the hands of infidels should be considered martyrs, it is not for me to decide; personally, however, I hold that they are martyrs." In support of his opinion he cites the exegesis of chapter twenty-two of the first book of Kings as given by St. Venerable Bede, San Bachiaro, and the learned Cornelius a Lapide.<sup>(197)</sup> Fr. Guillen was born at Piles is Valencia, in which province also he joined the Franciscans in 1770. After becoming a member of the college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, he was a missionary for two years in the missions of Texas, and for six more in those of northern Sonora. The Indians who killed him transfixed him with lances. He was forty-one years old, and had been a member of the Querétaran missionary college for eight years.<sup>(198)</sup>

### MARTYRS OF TODAY

The last three of the thirty-eight Franciscans martyrs of Mexico were barbarously killed by agents of the government in our own day, only ten years ago. They were Fr. Juniper de la Vega, at Ecuandureo, Michoacán; his companion, Brother Humilde Martinez, at Zamora in the same State; and Fr. José Perez, near Celaya, Guanajuato. The latter had been ordained a priest at the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California.

Since these martyrs are so near to us and the edifying story of their death is so little known, it will be well to

relate their martyrdom in some detail. Having received orders from their Father Provincial to repair to Mexico City and thence to the United States, where they were to conduct a novitiate, Father Junipero and Brother Humilde, fearing to take a train, left Zamora on foot and received a lift to the neighboring village of Piedad. There they had meant to entrain; but some Judas had betrayed them, and they were met at Piedad by a body of soldiers.

From his barracks prison Brother Humilde wrote to his Father Provincial on February 4, 1928: "I am in a cell which was occupied by a martyr before me. . . . His blood can still be seen sprinkled about. . . . I am sending you a bit of earth soaked with his blood."

The morning after their capture, the two friars were transferred to Yurecuaro, and questioned by an officer named Fox.

"How many Masses have you celebrated to date?" Fox asked Fr. Junipero.

"Figure it out," replied the priest; "I was ordained in 1905."

"I am not asking you about that; I mean, how many Masses have you celebrated since it is forbidden?"

"To tell the truth, as many as I could."

That fearless reply sealed their doom. During the night that followed neither of the friars slept. Wrote Brother Humilde to his Father Provincial on February 5: "I have spent the whole night asking God to pardon me my sins, and commending my soul to the Blessed Virgin Mary; for I am sure that we are going to be sentenced to death. Do not trouble to answer this; likely I shall not receive your letter."

Father Junipero had spent the whole night hearing



the confessions of Catholic prisoners; and at dawn Brother Humilde found him prostrate in prayer.

"Father," he said, "you should rest a little now; you have been up all night."

"Brother," answered the priest, "there is no use resting now; we have got to get ready for Heaven."

#### JUNIPERO DE LA VEGA, 1928

Their surmises were correct. That day soldiers came and took them on a train bound for Zamora. Near Ecuandureo the train halted. Father Junipero was ordered to get off; and while trembling Brother Humilde looked on, soldiers riddled the Father with bullets. The martyr's body, strange to say, remained standing in an erect position; and the officer directed his men to throw the body down. This they did, dragging the corpse by the hair; and leaving the body lie on the ground, they reentrained.

#### HUMILDE MARTINEZ, 1928

Near Zamora Brother Humilde was made to get off and was likewise shot down in his tracks. His body was rolled into a roadway trench and left there. Catholics of Zamora, including a sister of Brother Humilde, found the latter's body; and having obtained leave to bury it, they carried it in state to the home of the martyr's sister. An immense concourse of people came to pay their respects all day and night, praying and leaving flowers. On February 7, the funeral took place in a triumphant manner.

Father Junipero's body was also found by a herdsman, who hid it from profanation. But when the people of Ecuandureo learned about the matter, they took charge and provided a triumphant burial, at which were heard shouts of "Long live Christ the King!"

JOSE PEREZ, 1928

Father José Perez had been exercising the sacred ministry in secret as in the days of the Catacombs. On the last day of May, 1928, the village of Cañada de Tirados wished to have Mass; and Father José complied with their wish. After Mass, some of the villagers, headed by the local leader of the Agrarian Party, insisted on accompanying the Father back to his hiding place at Lo de Peña, deep in the dense mountain forests. The party, traveling on horseback, suddenly came face to face with a large detachment of cavalry. The Agrarian leader turned to flee, but was chased and shot down. The rest, seven in number including Father José who was wearing plain clothes, were made to dismount and their hands were tied behind their backs.

When one of the cavalymen threw away the priest's saddle bag, it burst open revealing the sacred vestments. Fr. José at once admitted that it was his and that he was the priest. The prisoners were then made to go on foot all the way to Salvatierra, where they arrived at six in the evening. At noon a halt had been made at Parimoro; and when Fr. José was left standing in the road, guarded by soldiers, the villagers ventured to bring food and other little tokens to him and his companions. Father José accepted a little bread and water, and the soldiers got the rest. A number of the townsmen, led by the mayor, even pleaded with the commander on behalf of the weary captives, but to no avail.

The following day, Friday, June 1, the prisoners were conveyed to Celaya. And very early the next morning Father José was taken into an automobile and driven out into the country. A few miles out, the party left the road; and throwing a rope around Father José's neck, his

executioners dragged him for a while over the ground and then ran him through with their *machetes*.

This time, they thought, the body would not be found and there would be no demonstrations. But it was found and taken from village to village back to Salvatierra, where it showed as yet no signs of corruption though the murder had been perpetrated at least twenty-four hours before. When the remains of the martyr were taken to the cemetery for burial, the route of the procession was strewn with flowers, and continued shouts were heard of "Long live Christ the King!" (199)

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## XIV

### CENTRAL AMERICA

Of the Central American countries south of Mexico, two, namely Honduras and Costa Rica, have their Franciscan martyrs. It is appropriate also that we mention here the death of two other Franciscans (not counted among the martyrs) who accompanied Cortés on his expedition to Honduras in 1524. They were Fr. Juan de Tecto (Dekkers, Couvreur) and Fr. Juan de Ayora (Aora, Van der Auwera), who with Brother Pedro de Muro (de Muer or Ghent) were the first missionaries to the newly conquered Aztecs. The former, who had been Guardian of the friary at Ghent and confessor to the Emperor, was a learned man and had lectured on theology at the University of Paris for fourteen years. Though Mendieta tells us that Fr. Juan de Ayora died at Texcoco (Tezcuco), Brother Pedro says expressly in two different letters that both missionaries perished from the hardships of the journey on their way to Honduras.<sup>(200)</sup>

#### *Honduras*

#### FIVE MARTYRS OF HONDURAS

The martyrs of Honduras were all members of the Franciscan Province of Guatemala. After the Xicaques in Honduras had stubbornly withstood the missionary

efforts of the Fathers of this Province for some time, they finally allowed them to found some missions in their midst. Soon after, however, in 1612, they murdered the two missionaries, Fr. Estevan Bertelete and Fr. Juan de Monteagudo. About a decade later, 1623, the same Indians killed three more missionaries, Fr. Cristóbal Martinez Puerta, Fr. Benito López, and Brother Juan de Baena.<sup>(201)</sup>

### *Costa Rica*

#### RODRIGO PEREZ

As early as 1627 the Indians of the Talamanca mountains killed a member of the Franciscan Province of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Fr. Rodrigo Perez. Another missionary, Fr. Juan de Ortega, had been wounded by the same Indians already in 1610.<sup>(202)</sup>

#### PABLO DE REBULLIDA, JUAN DE ZAMORA

Venerable Fr. Antonio Margil began to work among these Indians in 1688 and there established the first independent mission district of the college of Querétaro. By 1706 about 80,000 Indians had been baptized; but on September 17, 1709, two of the missionaries, Fr. Pablo de Rebullida and Fr. Juan Antonio de Zamora, companions of Fr. Margil, were murdered by rebellious Indians. During the fifteen years that he spent in these parts, Fr. Pablo had succeeded in mastering all the languages of the local tribes. Like Ven. Fr. Margil, he longed for the martyr's crown; to him it was granted, but to the former it was denied though he braved numerous perils. In September, 1709, Fr. Pablo was visiting Fr. Juan among the Urinámas, when some Christian Indians brought news of an uprising and conspiracy of Indians who were bent on murdering the priests. By the reception of the sacra-



ments, prayer, and acts of penance, the fathers prepared themselves for death; and calmly, even cheerfully, awaited their murderers. The latter arrived on the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, September 17, and put the missionaries to death in barbarous fashion.<sup>(203)</sup>

In regard to Fr. Pablo de Rebullida, the following details are added by Fr. Bringas. Fr. Rebullida was born in the Villa de Fraga, Catalonia. He entered the Franciscan order in the friary of Santa Maria de Jesus at Tortosa, a so-called "house of recollection." After becoming a member of the college of Santa Cruz de Quéretaro in 1692, he was sent two years later to Guatemala and began to work as a missionary among the Indians of what is now Costa Rica. Despite indescribable hardships and harrowing dangers he remained at his post, on one occasion spending fifteen months among the Indians without a white companion and without being able to celebrate holy Mass. Several times the Indians wounded him; and many times they plotted to kill him. Finally the Talamancas put him to death by piercing him with lances. Then they cut off his head and threw it into a fire, but it would not burn; they cast it into a pot of boiling water, but that too left it intact; lastly they hid it, so that it could not be found. His body, however, which was left intact by the llamas and birds of prey, was recovered and taken to Guatemala, where it was given honorable burial. Father Rebullida was forty-five when he died, and had been a member of the Quéretaran college for seventeen years and a missionary among the wild Indians of Costa Rica for fifteen years.<sup>(204)</sup>



*Monument to Father Francisco Tomas Hermenegildo  
Garcés at St. Thomas, Port Yuma, California.*



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## XV

### CONCLUSION

The subject of this little book is one of unusual fascination and absorbing interest; but it is also a vast and difficult one for a single work, and the author realizes only too well that he has not done full justice to it. He was able to recount in some detail the story of only a few of the martyrs, namely those of the northern part of North America, the protomartyr of Canada, and the four martyrs of Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, and Colorado.<sup>(205)</sup> The account of the rest, namely the large number of martyrs in the southern portion of the United States, in Mexico, and in Central America, is necessarily brief at the present time. But the writer believes it has been made clear that we owe it to the memory of the one hundred and seventeen Franciscan martyrs of North America to take an interest in the story of their heroic sacrifice, and endeavor to interest others as well—particularly in the inspiring story of the sixty-nine martyrs of the United States.

Of these heroes of the Cross, the cause of beatification has been introduced for only one, the latest one in the United States, Father Leo Heinrichs. Would it not be feasible and proper to launch and sustain a movement for the beatification and canonization of most of the others as well?

At the National Congress of the Third Order of St. Francis, held in San Francisco in 1931, the following resolution was passed: "The Third Order of St. Francis glories in the record of its seventy-two (*sic*) friar martyrs who shed their blood for Christ on American soil. It recommends that the work of gathering material pertaining to their lives and deeds be begun at once, and that the cause of their beatification be promoted."<sup>(206)</sup> The present work is to a certain extent a result of this resolution, inasmuch as the writer was encouraged in his researches by the national secretary of the Third Order; and he hopes that the Third Order in the United States will accord a favorable reception to the present result of his efforts, as well as continue to recommend to the prayerful and active interest of Catholics throughout the country the cause of the martyrs who in a real sense were their own brethren.

At the eighteenth annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, held at the historic mission of Santa Barbara, California, August 2-4, 1936, when a brief résumé of the present work was presented as a paper, several steps were taken toward a definite program for the promotion of the cause of these martyrs. Thus the writer was commissioned to write to the American Franciscan ministers provincial in whose territories the martyrs died, asking that their respective provinces promote in a special way the martyrs of their territory. Besides, of the resolutions that were adopted at this meeting, three pertained to the martyrs; they were as follows:

"Since no less than one hundred and fifteen (*sic*) of our confreres have sacrificed their lives in martyrdom on North American soil—sixty-nine of these heroes dying within the confines of these United States—the Conference reveres their memory and voices the prayer that, God willing, at least some of these martyrs may be raised to the



honor of the altar. The Conference recommends the publication of their biographies so that their memory may be kept alive with the American people."

"Deeply touched by the realization that Fray Jose Perez, O.F.M., one-time cleric of the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, where he was also ordained priest, through the mercy of God was found worthy to receive the magnificent crown of martyrdom by being choked and stabbed near Celaya, Guanajuato, Mexico, on June 1, 1928, the Conference pays tribute to his heroism and presents him as a shining example of faith and fortitude both to our clerics and to all the friars."

"It is the earnest request of the Conference that the various Provincial Superiors insert into the Necrologies of their Provinces the names of such friars who in times past have labored within their Provinces, and that this be done particularly apropos the martyrs."<sup>(207)</sup>

Lastly, a petition for the beatification of some of these martyrs, drawn up by the president of the Conference and signed by all present, was sent to the Very Reverend Postulator General of the Franciscans in Rome. It will be well to insert here a copy of the original Latin as well as an English translation:

Datum S. Barbarae, die 4 Augusti, 1936

Admum Revde Pater:

Infrascripti sodales Conferentiae Educationalis Franciscanae, in Collegio ad S. Antonium apud civitatem S. Barbarae in California pro congressu decimo octavo coadunatae, Paternitati Vestrae omni qua par est reverentia quae sequuntur exponunt.

Quum praedicti Patres Lectores pro themate huius congressus elegerint Historiam Franciscanam totius Americae Septentrionalis, et quum Martyrologium Franciscanum Americanum magnam nostrarum delibera-

tionum insumpserit partem, omnibus patuit necessitas simulac obligatio promovendi pro viribus causas eorum qui vel sanguinem pro Christo fuderint vel sancta vita has regiones illustrarint.

Hisce litteris adjunguntur tabulae illorum virorum quorum vita, acta, pia in Domino mors solidis historicis argumentis fundantur, et documentis firmantur.

Quapropter enixe rogamus Paternitatem Vestram ut et consilio prudenti et auxilio opportuno promoveas commune nostrum votum, scilicet, ut tandem aliquando unus saltem vel alter ex magna illa turba honore altarium decoretur, ad gloriam Dei et Ordinis Seraphici honorem.

Signant humiles in Domino confratres:

Signatures of fifty-one friars.

Al Molto Revdo. P. A. SANTARELLI, *Postulatore Generale*,  
Athenaeum Antonianum,  
Via Merulana, 124, Roma, 24, Italia.

\* \* \* \*

Santa Barbara, August 4, 1936

Very Reverend Father:

The members of the Franciscan Educational Conference whose signatures appear below, gathered in the College of St. Anthony, in the city of Santa Barbara, California, for their eighteenth convention, present to Your Paternity with due reverence the matter that follows.

Since these Fathers and teachers chose as the topic of discussion for this meeting the Franciscan history of entire North America, and since the American Franciscan martyrology occupied much of our attention in the deliberations, all have been convinced of the need as well as the obligation to promote as much as possible the causes of those who have shed their blood for Christ or have rendered these regions famous by their holy life.

Accompanying this letter is a list of those men whose life, deeds, and pious death in the Lord, are established by solid historical arguments and confirmed by documents.

For this reason we earnestly ask Your Paternity, that with prudent counsel and opportune assistance you may promote our common wish that at least one or the other of this large group may at last be elevated to the honor of the altars, unto the glory of God and the honor of the Seraphic Order.

As your humble confreres in the Lord we sign our names:

(Signatures of fifty-one friars.)

To the Very Rev. Fr. A. SANTARELLI, *Postulator General*,  
The Antonian University (Ateneo Antoniano),  
Via Merulana, 124, Rome, 24, Italy.

### SELECTION TO BE MADE

Thus a beginning has been made, but it is only a beginning. There will be need of the cooperation of many hearts and minds. In particular, it would be futile to seek the beatification of all the Franciscan martyrs of North America at one and the same time. Certain groups of martyrs should be selected and suggested for the honors of the altar; and in the case of some martyrs their causes should be promoted individually. Examples of groups are Fr. Juan Bernal and his twenty companions in New Mexico and Arizona, 1680; Fr. Francisco de Jesus Maria Casañas, protomartyr of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide among the Friars Minor, and his four companions in New Mexico, 1696; Fr. Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés and his three companions in California, 1781; Fr. Pedro de Corpa and his four companions in Georgia, 1597; Fr. Juan de Parga and his three companions in Florida, 1704. Some martyrs whose cause will be served best if they are taken singly are: Fr. Juan Padilla, protomartyr of the

United States, in Texas, 1542; Fr. Francisco Porras in Arizona, 1633; Fr. Andrés Quintana in California, 1812; Fr. José Francisco Ganzábal in Texas, 1752; Fr. Antonio Díaz de Leon in Texas, 1834; etc.

If such a movement is set on foot and if such steps are taken, the story of the martyrs will be made known to the Catholics as well as many non-Catholics of our country and of the world; and much good will result, even if all these martyrs are not raised to the honors of the altar. But the writer cherishes the fond hope, and so do many others, that not a few of the groups and individuals among these martyrs will one day be canonized saints of the United States.

In the hope that States and Provinces will take a particular interest in the martyrs who shed their blood within their confines, we append a list of the Franciscan martyrs of North America in which the arrangement is based on these political divisions of territory; and in New Mexico, there is a further arrangement according to pueblos in which the martyrs died. The figures in parentheses indicate the number of martyrs in the various localities.

#### FRANCISCAN MARTYRS OF NORTH AMERICA

##### A. UNITED STATES (69 in 10 States):

###### I. CALIFORNIA (6):

1. Fr. Luis Jayme.....	Mission San Diego .....	1775
2. Fr. Francisco H. Garcés....	M. La Purisima Concepcion .....	1781
3. Fr. Juan A. Barreneche....	M. La Purisima Concepcion .....	1781
4. Fr. Juan M. Diaz.....	M. S. Pedro y S. Pablo .....	1781
5. Fr. José M. Moreno.....	M. S. Pedro y S. Pablo .....	1781
6. Fr. Andrés Quintana.....	Mission Santa Cruz .....	1812

###### II. ARIZONA (6):

1. Fr. Martin de Arvide .....	Near Zipias Indians .....	1632
2. Fr. Francisco Porras .....	Awatobi .....	1633

3. Fr. José de Figueroa .....	Awatobi .....	1680
4. Fr. José de Espeleta .....	Oraibi .....	1680
5. Fr. Augustin de S. Maria.....	Oraibi .....	1680
6. Fr. José de Trujillo .....	Shongopovi .....	1680

### III. NEW MEXICO (30):

a. Taos:		
1. Fr. Pedro de Miranda .....		1631
2. Fr. Antonio de Mora .....		1680
3. Bro. Juan de la Pedrosa .....		1680
b. Picuris:		
4. Fr. Matias Rendón .....		1680
c. Nambé:		
5. Fr. Tomás de Torres .....		1680
d. San Cristóbal:		
6. Fr. José de Arbizu .....		1696
7. Fr. Antonio Carbonel .....		1696
e. Tesuque:		
8. Fr. Juan Bautista Pio .....		1680
f. Pecos:		
9. Bro. Luis de Escalona .....		1544
g. Galisteo:		
10. Fr. Juan Bernal .....		1680
11. Fr. Domingo de Vera .....		1680
12. Fr. Fernando de Velasco .....		1680
13. Fr. Manuel Tinoco .....		1680
h. San Ildefonso:		
14. Fr. Luis de Morales .....		1680
15. Bro. Antonio Sanchez de Pro .....		1680
16. Fr. Francisco Corvera .....		1696
17. Fr. Antonio Moreno .....		1696
i. Santo Domingo:		
18. Fr. Francisco A. de Lorenzana .....		1680
19. Fr. Juan de Talabán .....		1680
20. Fr. José de Montesdoca .....		1680
j. Chilili:		
21. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria .....		1581
k. Puaray:		
22. Fr. Francisco Lopez .....		1582
23. Bro. Agustín Rodríguez .....		1582



## 1. Jemez:

24. Fr. Juan de Jesús ..... 1680  
 25. Fr. Francisco de J. M. Casañas ..... 1696

## m. Acoma:

26. Fr. Lucas Maldonado ..... 1680

## n. Hawikuh:

27. Fr. Francisco Letrado ..... 1632  
 28. Fr. Pedro Avila y Ayala ..... 1672

## o. Halona:

29. Fr. Juan del Val ..... 1680

## p. Senecú:

30. Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila ..... 1675

## IV. TEXAS (9):

1. Fr. Juan de Padilla .....Near Quivira (Canadian R.) 1542  
 2. Fr. Zénobe Membré .....Fort St. Louis (Garcitas R.) 1689  
 3. Fr. Maxim Le Clerq .....Fort St. Louis (Garcitas R.) 1689  
 4. Bro. José Pita .....Carnizeria (near Rockdale) 1721  
 5. Fr. Francisco Xavier Silva Near Presidio del R. Grande 1749  
 6. Fr. José F. Ganzábal .....Mission La Candelaria .... 1752  
 7. Fr. Alonso G. de Terreros M. S. Sabá (San Xavier R.) 1758  
 8. Fr. José Santiesteban .....M. S. Sabá (San Xavier R.) 1758  
 9. Fr. Antonio Diaz de Leon San Augustine ..... 1834

## V. FLORIDA (9):

1. 2. 3. Three unnamed Franciscans ..... 1647  
 4. Fr. Luis Sanchez .....Tororo (Jororo) ..... 1697  
 5. Fr. Juan de Parga .....M. La Concepción, Ayubale 1704  
 6. Fr. Manuel de Mendoza ..M. S. Pedro y S. Pablo, Patali 1704  
 7. Fr. Domingo Criado .....Apalache ..... 1704  
 8. Fr. Tiburcio de Osorio ....Apalache ..... 1704  
 9. Fr. Agustin Ponze de Leon Apalache ..... 1704

## VI. GEORGIA (5):

1. Fr. Pedro de Corpa  
     Tolomato (opposite Zapala Is.) 1597  
 2. Fr. Blas de Rodriguez  
     Tupique (north of Tolomato) 1597  
 3. Fr. Miguel de Auñon .....Guale (St. Catherine Is.) .. 1597  
 4. Bro. Antonio de Badajoz ..Guale (St. Catherine Is.) .. 1597  
 5. Fr. Francisco Verascola ....Asao (St. Simon Island) .. 1597

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## VII. MICHIGAN (1):

Fr. Constantin Delhalle .....Detroit ..... 1706

## VIII. ILLINOIS (1):

Fr. Gabriel de la Ribourde ..Seneca ..... 1680

## IX. NEBRASKA (1):

Fr. Juan Minguez .....Near Columbus ..... 1720

## X. COLORADO (1):

Fr. Leo Heinrichs .....Denver ..... 1908

## B. CANADA (2):

Fr. Nicolas Viel .....Sault au Récollet ..... 1625

Fr. Leonard of Chartres (Capuchin)

Port Royal (Annapolis) 1645 or 1655

## C. MEXICO (38):

### I. JALISCO (6):

1. Fr. Juan Calero .....Near Tequila ..... 1541

2. Fr. Antonio de Cuellar ..Near Etzatlan ..... 1541

3. Fr. Francisco Lorenzo .....Near Etzatlan ..... 1560

4. Brother Juan .....Near Etzatlan ..... 1560

5. Fr. Andrés de Ayala .....Guainamota ..... 1585

6. Fr. Francisco Gil .....Guainamota ..... 1585

### II. ZACATECAS (2):

1. Fr. Juan Serrato .....Atotonilco ..... 1580

2. Fr. Luis de Villalobos ....Near Colotlán ..... 1582

### III. DURANGO (10):

1. Fr. Bernardo Cossin .....Sierra ..... 1564

2. An old Franciscan .....Topia ..... 1564

3. A young Franciscan .....Topia ..... 1564

4. Fr. Juan de Tapia .....Tapias .....post 1564

5. Brother Lucas .....Tapias .....post 1564

6. Fr. Andrés de la Puebla ..Near Topia ..... 1586

7. Fr. Pedro Gutiérrez .....Atotonilco ..... 1616

8. Fr. Estevan Benítez .....	Near San Juan del Rio ....	1686
9. Fr. Ramiro Alvarez .....	Milpillas .....	1704
10. Fr. Diego Hevia .....	Milpillas .....	1704

## IV. SINALOA (4):

1. Fr. Pablo de Acevedo .....	1567
2. Bro. Juan de Herrera .....	1567
3. An unnamed Franciscan .....	1567
4. An unnamed Franciscan .....	1567

## V. SONORA (2):

1. Fr. Juan C. Gil de BernaveCarrizal .....	1773
2. Fr. Felipe Guillen .....	Sta. Teresa-Ati ..... 1778

## VI. CHIHUAHUA (3):

1. Fr. Tomás Zigarrán .....	San Francisco de los Conchos	1645
2. Fr. Francisco Labado .....	San Francisco de los Conchos	1645
3. Fr. Manuel Beltran .....		
	N.S. de la Soledad de los Tanos	1684

## VII. COAHUILA (1):

1. An unnamed Franciscan .....		
	Punta de S. Elena, on way to Saltillo	1567

## VIII. NUEVO LEON (1):

1. Fr. Martín de Altamirano .....	Near Monterrey .....	1606
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## IX. SAN LUIS POTOSI (2):

1. Fr. Juan del Rio .....	Charcas .....	1586
2. Fr. Francisco Montero .....	Tamitas .....	post 1647

## X. GUANAJUATO (1):

1. Fr. José Perez .....	Celaya .....	1928
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## XI. MICHOACAN (4):

1. Fr. Francisco Donzel .....	Mexico to Michoacan .....	1567
2. Fr. Pedro de Burgos .....	Mexico to Michoacan .....	1567
3. Fr. Junipero de la Vega .....	Ecuandureo .....	1928
4. Bro. Humilde Martinez .....	Zamora .....	1928

## XII. YUCATAN (2):

1. Fr. Diego Delgado .....	Itza Indians .....	1624
2. Bro. Juan Henriquez .....	Itza Indians .....	1624

## D. CENTRAL AMERICA (8):

## I. HONDURAS (5):

1. Fr. Estevan Bertelete .....	1612
2. Fr. Juan de Monteagudo .....	1612
3. Fr. Cristóbal Martínez Puerta .....	1623
4. Fr. Benito Lopez .....	1623
5. Bro. Juan de Baena .....	1623

## II. COSTA RICA (3):

1. Fr. Rodrigo Perez .....Talamanca Mts. ....	1627
2. Fr. Pablo de Rebullida ....Talamanca Mts. ....	1709
3. Fr. Juan A. de Zamora ....Talamanca Mts. ....	1709

*Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus!*





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## REFERENCE NOTES

(1) *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen* (Muenster i. W., Germany: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1929).

(2) Cf. the writer's articles: "The Franciscan Order," *The Friars Minor in the United States, with a Brief History of the Orders of St. Francis in General* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1927), pp. 1-25; "Franciscan Missions of the Past," *Franciscan Herald*, XXII (1934), 220-221; "Franciscan Missions in the Near East," *ibid.*, XXIII (1935), 270, 271, 295.

(3) *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, XXII (1903), 27-28, where a list of these martyrs is given.

(4) Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Cf. also E. G. Bourne, *Discovery, Conquest, and Early History of the Philippine Islands* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1907).

(5) J. F. Rippy, *Historical Evolution of Hispanic America* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1933), p. 101.

(6) According to manuscript catalogs of the Jesuit provinces in colonial Spanish and Portuguese America, preserved in the Roman archives of the Jesuit order, the Jesuits in Spanish America and Brazil numbered 2733 (2257 in Spanish America, 476 in Brazil) for the years 1751-1764; and of these only 458 (391 in Spanish America and 67 in Brazil) were actually engaged in missionary work among the Indians. Cf. Jos. Alb. Otto, S.J., "Alte und neue Jesuitenmission in

Ziffern," *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* (Muenster i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung), I (1938), 238. This article appears in the third number of a new learned quarterly, an excellent publication, which reached the author just as he was preparing these notes.

(7) Manuel M. Truxillo, *Exhortación pastoral* (Madrid, 1786), Appendix. Cf. also Otto Maas, *Viajes de misioneros Franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo Mexico, Documentos del Archivo general de Indias* (Sevilla) (Sevilla: Imprenta de San Antonio, 1915), pp. 184-186, where the statistical table of Father Truxillo is reprinted.

(8) Cf. for instance, A. C. Wilgus, *A History of Hispanic America* (Washington: Mime-o-form Service, 1931), p. 183; and W. W. Sweet, *A History of Latin America* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1929), pp. 138-139.

(9) The following attempts at an American martyrology, all of them lacking, some more some less, in completeness and accuracy, have been made: the "Martyrologium Americanum" which appeared in the *American Catholic Almanac* of 1859 was printed in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XXIII (1906), 332, with a request for emendations. This list mentions 52 martyrs, 31 of them Franciscans. A revised and augmented "Martyrologium Americanum" appeared *ibid.*, XXIV (1907), 75-76, with 90 martyrs, 68 of them Franciscans. An "American Martyrology" is contained also in the annual *Franciscan Almanac* (St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J.), with corrections according to the present work. The names of 59 Franciscans martyrs in the United States are given by B. Hammer, O.F.M., *Die Franciscaner in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas* (Cologne: J. P. Bachem, 1892), pp. 142-143. Mooney compiled a list of martyrs for the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1905-1914), X, 390. F. G. Holweck's "An American Martyrology," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (1921), 495-516, is after the manner of the Roman Martyrology, being in calendar form and giving brief sketches of the individual martyrs and also of prominent and saintly missionaries who died a natural death. In J. J. Thompson's "An American Martyrology," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IV (1921), 57-73, the martyrology appears on pp. 64-66, the rest being mostly historical notes on Jesuit missionaries. T. Meyer, *St. Francis and Franciscans in New Mexico* (The Historical Society of New Mexico, 1926), p. 40, has a list of 51 Franciscan friars martyred, 1542-1731.

(10) An account of this martyrdom is given in *Scrittura di fra Roman*, printed in Chap. 61 of *Vita de Cristoforo Colombo, descritta da Ferdinando, suo figlio*, regarding which vide R. Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca Missionum*, II (Aachen, 1924), no. 22. Cf. also Lemmens, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*, p. 196; and the writer's article, "The First Missionaries in the New World," *Franciscan Herald*, XXII (1934), 125.

(11) Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, written in 1596, and published for the first time by J. Icazbalceta (Mexico: Antigua Librería, 1870), p. 41; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

(12) C. E. Nowell, "The Discovery of Brazil—Accidental or Intentional?" *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI (1936), 311-338.

(13) P. Emanuel, "Orígenes etc.," *Archivo Ibero Americano*, I (1914), 500-514; Salesius Elsner, O.F.M., *Die deutschen Franziskaner in Brasilien (Aus Allen Zonen, VIII)* (Treves: Paulinus Druckerei, 1912), Introductory chapter; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

(14) Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, II (San Francisco: James H. Barry Co., 1912), 169-170; F. G. Holweck, "An American Martyrology," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (1921), 514; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 252.

(15) F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30), I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 896.

(16) Juan Domingo Arricivita, O.F.M., *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España. Segunda Parte* (the first part being the *Crónica* of Fr. Espinosa) (Mexico: Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1792), Chapter IX, X, XI of Book IV. Cf. also Z. Engelhardt, *The Franciscans in Arizona* (Harbor Springs, Mich.: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1899), 141 *et seq.*, also Chapters XIV, XV (a detailed account based on Arricivita); Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, II, 353, with picture of the site of Mission Concepcion facing p. 352; A. G. Saravia, *Los Misioneros Muertos en el Norte de Nueva España*

(Durango: Silvestre Dorador, 1920), pp. 89-111; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 505; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

(17) For full title see number 142 in J. B. Iguiniz, *Bibliografía Biográfica Mexicana, Tomo I, Repertorios Biográficos (Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas, Número 18)*, Mexico, 1930.

(18) Fr. Garcés' journal of his fifth *entrada*, really a combination of several, has been translated by Elliot Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, 2 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), the introduction of which, though expressing admiration of the missionary, is written in a strangely un-Christian tone.

(19) C. F. Lummis, *Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo* (New York: The Century Co., 1925), p. 553.

(20) Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, III, 11.

(21) H. A. van Coenen Torchiana, *Story of the Mission Santa Cruz* (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Co., 1933), pp. 8, 246. The Author gives expression to some distorted views on the missionaries of California. He is in error when he says Fr. Quintana was murdered in 1811.

(22) Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, III, 11-14; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, 512.

(23) Lummis, *op. cit.*, p. 495, shows how absurd it is to insist on the term "Hopi" for these Indians and explains how the latter crept into the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology. The Moquis, he points out, call themselves, not Hopis, but Ho-pi-tuh Shi-nu-mu, that is People of Peace; but to this day more than fifty Indian tribes know of the Moquis, and not one of the Hopis.

(24) Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 560.

(25) Fray Agustin de Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano (Biblioteca Historica de la Iberia, Tomo X)*—first published in 1698—(Mexico: I. Escalante y Ca., 1871), pp. 75-77; Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1921), 181; B. M. Read,

*Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Santa Fe, N. M., 1912), p. 258; E. R. Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1929), p. 28; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, 498; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

(26) A. F. Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States—Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition* (*Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, V*) (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1890), p. 175.

(27) The names of these pueblos have various spellings; those given here are given by Mooney in Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 561.

(28) Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 211-212; Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 23, and "Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1920-1921), 21-22 and 180; J. G. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days . . . 1621-1763* (New York, 1886), p. 642; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, 505; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 235.

(29) Vetancurt, *Cronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México* (*Biblioteca Historica de la Iberia*, Tom. IX)—first published in 1698—(Mexico: I. Escalante y Ca., 1871), p. 322.

(30) Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 24.

(31) The works in question are *El Gringo* (New York, 1856) and *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, 1869).

(32) H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (*The Works of H. H. Bancroft, XVII*) (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), p. 182, note 10.

(33) Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

(34) J. B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross. Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado* (Banning, Calif.: St. Boniface's Industrial School, 1898), p. 65.

(35) *Ibid.*, p. 123.



(36) Regarding these martyrs of 1680, *vide*, besides the accounts of Ayeta and Vetancurt—which will be mentioned presently in connection with the New Mexican martyrs of 1680—Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, pp. 23-24; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 561; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 510. On Fr. Trujillo, also *Archivo Ibero Americano*, VI, 326, and *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, VII, 650-651, the latter containing a letter of his, edited by Fr. Lorenzo Perez O.F.M.

(37) Regarding Brother Luis, supposing that Luis de Escalona was his name in the world and Fray Juan de la Cruz his name in religion, *vide* Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*—completed in 1596 and published for the first time by J. Icazbalceta—(Mexico: Antigua Librería, 1870), pp. 742, 743, 745; P. Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana, Tercera Parte* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), pp. 335, 610, 611; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 387. Cf. also Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, VII (1919), 194-196; Mooney in Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 892; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 218; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, 500, 515; and especially Otto Maas, O.F.M., "Die Ersten Versuche einer Missionierung und Kolonisierung Neumexikos," *Ibero Amerikanisches Archiv* (Berlin), VI (1933), 352, 356, 357. Mota Padilla (C. E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1936), p. 112) writes of Fray Juan de la Cruz that "he died pierced by arrows from those who did not embrace his doctrines." Hence there was at least one martyr in New Mexico at this time, whatever his name may have been.

(38) Mendieta, *op. cit.*, pp. 401, 763, 764, 765; Torquemada, *op. cit.*, III, 359, 626-628; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, on Fr. Juan pp. 184, 185, on Fr. Lopez p. 404, on Bro. Rodriguez pp. 412-414; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16; Lloyd Mecham, "The Martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa Maria," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (1920), 308-312; and above all the excellent study of Otto Maas, O.F.M., *loc. cit.*, 358-363, where he discusses among other things (pp. 362-363) the question whether the soldiers were guilty of deserting the missionaries or the missionaries chargeable with foolhardiness and obstinacy by remaining, and shows that Mecham is certainly wrong when he puts the blame on the missionaries.

(39) Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 893.

(40) Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 414; Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1921), 181.

(41) Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 52-53; Engelhardt, *loc cit.*

(42) Lummis, *op. cit.*, 479. A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880-1885. Part II (Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, IV)* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1892), p. 335, expresses the opinion that Vetancurt's date for Fr. Letrado's death should be changed to 1630; but the inscription on El Morro seems to indicate that there is no need of any correction in this instance.

(43) Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 346-347, gives 1670 as the year, which is corrected to 1672 by Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 338, note 3, according to a manuscript document of 1676.

(44) A confrère assured me that the place where this missionary lost his life was Abó, which according to Lummis, *op. cit.*, photograph of Franciscan church at Abó facing page 12, was abandoned in 1670; but in that case the account of Fr. Galdo's transferring of the martyr's body to Halona does not make sense. And Vetancurt says expressly that what he records regarding this martyr was reported by Fr. Nicolás Lopez, custos of New Mexico. Besides there is the documentary evidence of Bandelier.

(45) Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 250, who cites two manuscript documents, one from 1676 and another from 1705. Regarding the two victims of the Apaches *vide* also Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1921), 276; and regarding the latter, Saravia, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

(46) Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 256.

(47) Like the secondary sources on which it is based the writer's article, "Land of Martyrs," *Franciscan Herald*, XVIII (1930), 489 *et seq.*, contains not a few errors.

(48) The reports of Fr. Ayeta are printed in Otto Maas, O.F.M., ed., *Misiones de Nuevo Méjico, Documentos del Archivo general de Indias (Sevilla)* (Madrid: Hijos de T. Minuesa de los Rios, 1929), his list of martyrs with sketches on pp. 86-88.

(49) Dr. Sariñana's sermon in an English version was published at Santa Fé, N. M., 1906; *vide* full title of original and translation in Maas, *op. cit.*, 85.

(50) His list of the martyrs is in his *Menologio*, pp. 274-275, which, though published only in 1698, had been written already by 1691. *Vide* also his *Cronica* (cf. note 28), pp. 314-328.

(51) The document in question will be found in Maas, *Las ordenes religiosas de España y la colonización de America en la segunda parte del siglo XVIII*, II (Barcelona: A. G. Belart, 1929), pp. 37 ff.

(52) In his articles, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, XV (1911-1912), 93-147, and "Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI (1912), 137-168, and 259-276.

(53) For example, Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

(54) *Cronica*, p. 317.

(55) *Menologio*, p. 275, and *Cronica*, p. 320. Juan de Jesús along with Diego de Vargas Zapatas is buried in the old church of San Miguel, Santa Fe, N. M. The church now serves as chapel for St. Michael's College.

(56) Isidro Felis de Espinosa, *Chronica apostolica y seraphica de todos los colegios de Propaganda Fide de esta Nueva-España de Misioneros Franciscanos Observantes, Parte primera* (Mexico: Viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1746), p. 35.

(57) Legajo 67-3-32, printed in Maas, *Misiones de Nuevo, Méjico*, pp. 86-89.

(58) In 1674 Fr. Ayeta had himself arrived in New Mexico as custos, and had brought along a number of new missionaries. Cf. Engelhardt, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *Franciscan Herald*, IX (1921), 276.

(59) From other sources we know that the missionaries of Pecos and of San Marcos were not killed in their respective pueblos, but near Galisteo, while on the way to give warning to the Fr. Custos and his companion who were in the latter pueblo. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 481.

(60) The name of this *visita* was Tesuque, and Fr. Pio was on the way from Santa Fe to Tesuque in order to celebrate holy Mass for the feast of St. Lawrence, when he was killed. Cf. Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 274.

(61) Here should be added the one name overlooked by Fr. Ayeta. Dr. Sariñana's *Oracion funebre* and Vetancurt's *Menologio*, p. 275, enable us to supply the following:

*Acoma*. In the friary of San Estéban de Acoma, Padre Fray Lucas Maldonado, actual definitor, a native of Tribujena (Sevilla).

(62) Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 629.

(63) Espinosa, *Chronica Apostolica*, Chapters III-XIV of Book IV, containing a biography of this martyr; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 503. D. M. Bringas, *Sermon* (D. F. Villalpando, Madrid, 1819), p. 40.

(64) Holweck, *loc. cit.*, pp. 503-504; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 87, is mistaken when he writes that seven, instead of five, missionaries were killed in 1696.

(65) Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette, a Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O.F.M.* (*Franciscan Studies*, No. 13) (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1934), pp. 194-195.

(66) Mendieta, *op. cit.*, pp. 397, 616, 628, on Fr. Suarez, and p. 207 in addition on Bro. Palos; Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 413 and 437 on Fr. Suarez, and 437 and 447 on Bro. Palos.

(67) David Donoghue, *Coronado, Oñate, and Quivira* (*Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, III, No. 3).

(68) Mendieta, *op. cit.*, pp. 742-744; Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 606, 610, 611; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 386-387; P. J. Foik, *Fray Juan Padilla* (*Preliminary Studies*, I, 5), *Early Catholic Explorers of the*

*Southwest* (Preliminary Studies, I, 2), and "The Martyrs of the Southwest," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, XI (1928), 27 et seq.; J. J. O'Gorman, "The Franciscans in New Mexico," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXIX (1928), 153-173; the writer's short article, "Historic Missions of Texas," *Franciscan Herald*, XIX (1931), 60 and 85; and C. E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1936), I, 111-115.

(69) Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, containing the biographical facts known of both martyrs and discussing the sources at length; the account of their death is on pp. 190 and 193.

(70) Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 495. C. E. Castañeda, *op. cit.*, III, 128, quotes a report which declares that the fire was started by enemies of his mission. In that case Brother Luis de Montesdoca would have to be counted among the martyrs; but we prefer to wait for a corroborating document. The same report mentions Father Francisco Xavier Cubillos as freezing to death in the icy waters of the Rio Grande, but fails to state whether by accident or by the malice of some Indians.

(71) Fray Juan Agustin Morfi, *History of Texas, 1673-1779*, translated, with biographical introduction and annotations by Carlos Eduardo Castañeda, in two parts (*Quivira Society Publications*, VI) (Albuquerque, N. M.: The Quivira Society, 1935), I, 235, note 42.

(72) Morfi-Castañeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-332, 338-341, 350-351, 394, 413; Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1915), pp. 260-261; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74; Castañeda, *op. cit.*, III, 329-333.

(73) Morfi-Castañeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-309; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71; C. E. Castañeda, *op. cit.*, III, 128, 188-189.

(74) Arricivita, *op. cit.*, Chapters I-XII of Book III, especially p. 378; Morfi-Castañeda, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-385; Saravia, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-81; C. E. Castañeda, *op. cit.*, III, 404.

(75) P. F. Parisot and C. J. Smith, O.M.I., *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio, Texas, 1685-1889* (San Antonio, Texas: Francis J. Bowen, 1897); Holweck, *loc cit.*, p. 514.



(76) This letter is given in the Appendix of Streit, *Des letzte Franziskaner von Texas* (Duelmen i. W., Germany: Verlag Laumann), a short historical novel in which Father Diaz is the central figure.

(77) Engelhardt, "Missionary Labors of the Franciscans among the Indians of the Early Days" (Florida), *Franciscan Herald*, II (1914), 143-144, says it is impossible to say how many missionaries drowned; Mooney in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 390, suggests eight, no doubt, because eight missions were destroyed.

(78) The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Fr. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., who consulted photostats in the care of Dr. Robertson, Archivist of Maryland. The original manuscripts in the Archivo General de Indias (Seville) are numbered as follows: 54-5-9, 54-5-20, 54; 54-4-20, 58. Cf. also Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 68.

(79) Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 223-224; Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 457-458; Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 498.

(80) Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 186.

(81) Archivo General de Indias (A.G.I.), 58-1-28; 105, St. Augustine, July 17, 1712. Florida State Historical Society photostat (F.S.H.S. phot.). Courtesy of Father Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.

(82) A.G.I., 58-2-16; 2, St. Augustine, September 28, 1713. F.S. H.S. phot. Courtesy of Father Geiger.

(83) A.G.I., 58-1-29; 42, St. Augustine, November 10, 1722. F.S. H.S. phot. Courtesy of Father Geiger.

(84) Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 265-266, who refers to Bro. Delgado as Fr. Delgado; H. E. Bolton and M. Ross, *The Debatable Land, a Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgia Country* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1925), p. 61.

(85) *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 463.

(86) Luis Gerónimo de Oré, O.F.M., *The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)*, translated, with biographical introduction and notes, by

Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., (*Franciscan Studies*, No. 18) (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936).

(87) *Ibid.*, p. 73-76.

(88) *Ibid.*, p. 93-94.

(89) *Ibid.*, p. 84. Regarding the martyrs of Georgia, cf. also Lanning, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-90; Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 356-357 and 391-393; Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida 1573-1618* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1937), pp. 88-89.

(90) A.G.I., 58-1-29; 42, St. Augustine, 1722. F.S.H.S. phot. Courtesy of Father Geiger.

(91) New edn., XXII, 175.

(92) This excerpt was copied for the author by Fr. Diomedé Pohlkamp, O.F.M.

(93) Oré—Geiger, *The Martyrs of Florida*, p. 71.

(94) *Ibid.*, p. 83.

(95) Habig, "The Site of the Great Illinois Village," *Mid-America*, New Series, V (1933), 3-13.

(96) Habig, "Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, O.F.M., the First Martyr in Illinois," *ibid.*, II (1930-1931), 103-120 and 225-235, a more detailed and documented account which has served as the basis for the one given here. Cf. also the writer's *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, pp. 68-70, and Odoric-M. Jouve, *Le Père Gabriel de la Ribourde, Recollet* (Quebec, 1912).

(97) Habig, "The Site of the Great Illinois Village," *loc. cit.*, p. 10, note 35.

(98) Habig, "Chicago's Forgotten Pioneers," *Franciscan Herald*, XXVI (1938), 423-425 and 442.

(99) *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 624. The entire entry is in the handwriting of Father Constantin Delhalle, and his signature appears twice.

(100) According to Shea, this date is given by Tanguay, *Repertoire General*, p. 71.

(101) Father Emmanuel Crespel, famous for his account of the shipwreck which he survived, visited his confrère, Fr. Bonaventure Leonard at Detroit about 1730, and says of the latter that he was conversant with the language of the Indians with whom he came in contact most frequently. This fact shows that the friars stationed at Detroit also did missionary work among the Indians when there was occasion for it. Father Bonaventure Leonard should not be confounded with the "Father Bon" mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, whose name was Father Louis Marie Bonaventure Carpentier, and who had charge of the Detroit church from 1738 to 1754.

(102) Shea, *op. cit.*, pp. 620, 623, 629; B. Hammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 and 147; Richard R. Elliott, "The Martyred Recollect—The Bones and Ashes of the Martyred Recollect, Father Constantin Delhalle, Who Was the Founder and First Pastor of St. Anne's Church, Detroit," *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, XIII (1896), 17-22.

(103) Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

(104) Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 625, is mistaken, therefore, when he says of Father Delhalle that he arrived in Canada on June 1, 1696, and was engaged for a while in parochial work at Longueuil and St. François de Sales.

(105) A. Jodoin & J. L. Vincent, *Histoire de Longueuil* (Montreal, 1889), p. 194.

(106) Hugolin Lemay, "Tableau littéraire de l'histoire des Frères Mineurs Récollets du Canada (XVII<sup>e</sup>—XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)" *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XXVII (1934), 26-27, note 2.

(107) One of these missions was that of San José, founded in 1720 by Venerable Fray Antonio Margil, and later called the finest

in New Spain. Cf. Bolton-Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), p. 295.

(108) According to Hodge and others, the Indian pueblo of El Cuartelejo was situated in Scott County, Kansas; while according to A. B. Thomas ("The Massacre of the Villasur Expedition at the Forks of the Platte River, August 12, 1720," *Nebraska History*, VII (1924), 66-81), El Cuartelejo lay in Kiowa County, eastern Colorado. On the location of El Cuartelejo, depends the site of the massacre of the Villasur expedition, though in either case the site is in Nebraska. If El Cuartelejo was in Colorado, Villasur's party was massacred near the junction of the North Platte and South Platte in western Nebraska; if in Kansas, near the confluence of the Loup and the Platte in eastern Nebraska. In the present account we have followed the latter opinion, since it seems to agree more exactly with the description of places and distances given in the fragmentary diary of the expedition.

(109) Bolton-Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-296.

(110) There was at least one trader, Jean de L'Archeveque, who took along ten horses and six mules, loaded with commodities for trade with the Indians. This Frenchman had taken a part in the assassination of La Salle, near Navasota, Texas, 1687; then lived for a while among the Indians; and finally was picked up by the Spaniards. He lost his life in the massacre of the Villasur expedition, 1720. Cf. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, pp. 185, 187, 194-195, 200-201, where his name is spelled Larchevêque.

(111) M. A. Shine in *Nebraska History*, VI (1923), 32.

(112) Baron Marc de Villiers—Addison E. Sheldon, "Massacre of the Spanish Expedition of the Missouri (August 11, 1720)," *Nebraska History*, VI, has an English translation of this fragment of the diary on pp. 13-20.

(113) A. B. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, p. 73, note 18, and p. 79.

(114) Villiers-Sheldon, *loc. cit.*, p. 17. The name San Lorenzo or St. Lawrence was given to the Loup because the feast of this saint and early martyr (died, 258) was observed on the following day, August 10.

(115) *Ibid.*, p. 31, note 16.

(116) A. B. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 79-80; M. A. Shine, "The Platte-Loup Site," *Nebraska History*, VII, 87. The Pawnees were allies of the French and used French weapons. Prof. Bolton refers to indications that tribes as far north as Lake Winnibago in Wisconsin took part in the massacre, which shows how widespread was the influence of the French upon the Indians. Father Juan Minguez thus died at the hands of the Pawnees and their associates on August 12, 1720, on the south bank of the Loup River, about four miles northwest of Columbus, Nebraska.

(117) Charlevoix, *Journal and Letters*, II, 63-65 (an excerpt given in *Nebraska History*, VI, 38-39).

(118) Villiers-Sheldon, *loc. cit.*, p. 21.

(119) *Ibid.*, p. 25.

(120) *Ibid.*, p. 26-27.

(121) Cf. E. Hagedorn, *Franciscans in Nebraska and Historical Sketches of Mid-Nebraska* (Humphrey: The Humphrey Democrat, and Norfolk: The Norfolk Daily News, 1931), pp. 191-192.

(122) Bolton-Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 296. Cf. also Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, p. 125; and Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 498.

(123) *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, LIII (1934), 195.

(124) *Ibid.*, LIV (1935), 69.

(125) *Ibid.*, LVII (1938), 41.

(126) Father Leo was now a member of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Name, established in 1901.

(127) In the preparation of the present chapter, the author has made use of the following accounts: (1) Adalbert Callahan, *Medieval Francis in Modern America* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 330-



337; (2) Alexander Wyse, "God's Hero", *The Provincial Annals* (private publication of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Name), I (1938), 253-264; (3) C. J. McNeill, "Shoot a Priest and Make a Saint," *St. Anthony Messenger*, XLVI (November, 1938), 4-6, and 52; (4) Interview of Father Eusebius Schlingmann, O.F.M., by Father Leo Kalmer, O.F.M. (manuscript). These sources will be referred to as simply Callahan, Wyse, McNeill, and Kalmer.

(128) According to Kalmer, Father Eusebius and not Father Leo was the pastor. It is true that he was not guardian (as he is called by Wyse, p. 225), because the Denver friary was made a guardianate only later on. But the other accounts agree in designating Father Leo as pastor and superior. Father Eusebius himself, in a statement made after Fr. Leo's death (Wyse, p. 258), refers to him in these words: "Here in the friary we have lost a gentle master." Father Eusebius was made the second guardian of the Denver friary in 1934, and died there on January 30, 1937 (*Provincial Annals*, I (1937), p. 113).

(129) Father Wulstan Workman, a member of the Canadian province temporarily sojourning in Denver because of his health, according to Wyse (p. 255), was to have said the six o'clock Mass; but during the night he became ill, and Father Leo offered to take his place. According to *Annals*, p. 112, Father Eusebius had been appointed to say the six o'clock Mass, and because of a slight illness of the latter, at a late hour Saturday night, Father Leo decided to take the early Mass. Kalmer does not speak of any illness at all and declares that Father Leo requested Father Eusebius, who had already retired, to be allowed to say the six o'clock Mass, "because I must attend a meeting later." These different accounts can be harmonized in the following manner: Father Wulstan, who was to say the six o'clock Mass, became ill, and Father Eusebius was appointed to take his place; then Father Leo made another change after Father Eusebius had retired, and told the latter that he would celebrate the early Mass, because he had to attend a meeting later.

(130) Wyse (p. 164, note 13) says there was no sermon; Kalmer writes that Father Leo gave a short sermon. In any case, there was no sermon from the pulpit; if there was a short sermon, it was given from the altar steps.

(131) This is reported for the first time by Kalmer.

(132) Callahan (p. 331) writes that Alia "simultaneously pulled the trigger of a gun concealed beneath his coat."

(133) According to Kalmer; other accounts say that Fr. Leo died where he fell, at the foot of Mary's altar.

(134) According to Kalmer; the words spoken by Father Leo, according to Callahan (p. 334), were "Oh, how sweet it is to die at the feet of Mary!"

(135) McNeill, p. 52.

(136) Wyse, p. 258.

(137) Wyse, p. 259-260.

(138) Callahan, p. 332; Wyse, p. 262.

(139) According to Kalmer; the other accounts speak of chains of steel, to every link of which was attached a sharp hook.

(140) Wyse, p. 256.

(141) McNeill, p. 6.

(142) Wyse, p. 258.

(143) *Ibid.*

(144) Wyse, p. 255; McNeill, p. 6.

(145) Callahan, p. 336.

(146) McNeill, p. 5.

(147) Callahan, p. 336.

(148) *Ibid.*, 332-333, where a series of remarkable cures effected through the intercession of Father Leo are related.

(149) At Quieunonascaran. This was the second mission which Father Le Caron had built, the first one having been at Toenchain.

(150) Chrestien Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, translated by Shea. 2 vols. (New York: John G. Shea, 1881-1882), I, 207-208. Le Clercq adds (p. 209) that "Father Nicholas wrote in nearly the same terms to the Father-Commissary at Quebec."

(151) This dictionary was published at Paris in 1632, both as an appendix to Brother Sagard's *Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons* and separately; and again in his *Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Frères Mineurs Recollects y ont faits pour la Conversion des Infidèles depuis l'An 1615, avec un Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne*, first published in 1636. 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866), the second half of vol. IV.

(152) Le Clercq, *op. cit.*, I, 226.

(153) *Ibid.*, I, 244-246.

(154) Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, III, 794-795; *Jesuit Relations*, IV, 171.

(155) *Jesuit Relations*, IV, 197.

(156) *Ibid.*, VII, 231.

(157) *Ibid.*, X, 79.

(158) In a publication marking the second centenary of Montreal (1736-1936), the Abbé Desrochers expressed doubt regarding the martyrdom of Father Viel, because the earliest reports intimated only an accidental drowning—which is what one would naturally expect and hence affords no reason for questioning the definite statements made later on. Fr. Hugolin Lemay, O.F.M., wrote a reply, published in *Revue Franciscaine*, LII (Nov., 1936), and separately as a pamphlet, *Le Père Nicolas Viel, récollet, fut-il assassiné? Oui*, (Franciscan Press, Montreal), showing that the objections raised by the Abbé are altogether unnecessary and unfounded. Cf. *Franciscan Herald*, Dec., 1936, p. 383.

(159) Le Clercq, *op. cit.*, I, 247. Father Viel and Brother Sagard made the voyage from France to Canada in 1623 on a ship piloted by Captain Thierry Desdames, who like his employer, De Caen, probably was a Huguenot.

(160) Le Clercq, *op. cit.*, I, 249. Father Le Caron set sail for France in August, 1625, to make a report to King Louis XIII, "to whom he had the honor of being known, having even had the advantage of teaching his Majesty the first elements of the Faith" (*ibid.*, I, 247). It was on this occasion that he presented to the King a copy of the Huron dictionary compiled by himself, Fr. Viel, and Brother Sagard. The dictionary published by the latter is probably the same in its final form. In 1626 Father Le Caron returned to Canada with Champlain, arriving at Quebec on July 5. But after he and his confrères had been forcibly removed from Canada by the English in 1629, Father Le Caron died in France in 1632. The year before his death, a contagious disease had broken out at the friary near Gisors in Normandy where he was superior; and all his writings were unfortunately burned, though some of them at least existed elsewhere in duplicate. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 325, note.

(161) Hugolin Lemay, *Notes Bibliographiques pour servir a l'histoire des Récollets du Canada*, II, *Le Père Nicolas Viel* (Québec—Montréal, 1932), p. XXVI and 9. In this work the author also discusses the manner of Father Viel's death, and explains the term "massacré" used by Father John de Brebeuf to describe the death of both Bruslé and Father Viel, as meaning, in the latter's case, that the Indians probably rendered the missionary unconscious by a blow and then cast him into the water so that he drowned, not at the Sault itself but before or after riding the rapids (cf. *ibid.*, pp. IX and 3). The exact site of Father Viel's martyrdom is also made the subject of a careful investigation (*ibid.*, pp. XI *et seq.*). For pictures and descriptions of the monuments erected to the memory of the protomartyrs of Canada, together with copies of the inscriptions that appear on them, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 21-22, 29-30, 31-32, and 36. Vol I in this series of bibliographical works, *Les écrits imprimés laissés par les Récollets* (Montréal, 1932), by the same author, describes the writings of Fathers Le Caron and Viel, and Brother Sagard, on pp. 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18.

(162) J. H. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans* (Buechler Publishing Co., Belleville, Ill., 1929), frontispiece; O-M. Jouve, *Le Troisième Centenaire de L'Etablissement de la Foi au Canada, 1615-*

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(163) Jouve, *Les Franciscains et le Canada*, I, 195; J. Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1884), 226.

(164) Jouve, *op. cit.*, I, 285; Winsor, *op. cit.*, IV, 266, note; Le Clercq, *op. cit.*, II, 65.

(165) *Brevis missionis Accadiae descriptio*, written in 1656, first printed in *Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1904* (Ottawa, 1905), Appendix H, pp. 333-341.

(166) *Bullarium Capucinatorum*, V (Rome, 1748), p. 277.

(167) Habig, "The Franciscans in Colonial Maryland," *The Franciscan*, March, 1934, p. 4.

(168) Cf. the writer's articles, "The Century before Harvard," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, XCV (1936), 267-273; and "Ixtlilxochitl," *Franciscan Herald*, XXV (1936), 36-37.

(169) Mendieta, *op. cit.*, (hereafter referred to simply as Mendieta), pp. 628, 735, 737-739, 756; Torquemada, *op. cit.*, III (hereafter referred to simply as Torquemada), 447, 602, 604, 606-609, 621, 622; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, June 10; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

(170) Mendieta, pp. 628, 736, 739-741; Torquemada, pp. 447, 592, 605, 608, 609; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, August 14; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

(171) Mendieta, pp. 735, 745, 746; Torquemada, pp. 605, 612, 613; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, March 19; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 1, where the date of the earlier authors is corrected; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

(172) Mendieta, p. 746; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 2; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.



(173) Lemens, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

(174) Mendieta, pp. 445, 744-746; Torquemada, pp. 237, 611, 613; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, August 23; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 5; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

(175) Mendieta, pp. 628, 747-749, 751, 753-755, 757-758; Torquemada, pp. 447, 536, 612-623; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

(176) Mendieta, pp. 761, 762; Torquemada, p. 625; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, January 8; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

(177) Mendieta, pp. 382, 760, 761; Torquemada, pp. 337, 342, 343, 347, 623-625; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, December 29; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 3; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-218.

(178) Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 4.

(179) Mendieta, p. 759, who is mistaken when he calls Fr. Cerrato Guardian of Zapotlán; Torquemada, pp. 346, 623; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, December 9; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 8; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

(180) Mendieta, p. 765; Torquemada, p. 628; Vetancurt *Menologio*, February 13; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 7; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

(181) Mendieta, pp. 765-766; Torquemada, pp. 628-630; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, July 3; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

(182) Mendieta, p. 767; Torquemada, pp. 633-634; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 9.

(183) Mendieta, p. 768; Torquemada, p. 634; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 10.

(184) Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 12; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

(185) Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 14; Bolton, "The Black Robes of New Spain," *Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1935, p. 269; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

(186) P. A. Means, *History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas* (largely English versions of original narratives), p. 81; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

(187) Saravia, *op. cit.*, nos. 25 and 26; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

(188) Vetancurt, *Cronica*, p. 294. The writer is indebted to Woodrow Borah of the University of California for calling his attention to this martyr.

(189) Maas, *Las Órdenes*, II, 43.

(190) Holweck, *loc. cit.*, p. 496.

(191) Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 428 and 481.

(192) Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 88, note; observations on the Janos and Sumas (Zumas), pp. 86-93.

(193) Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 30; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

(194) Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 35; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

(195) Arricivita, *op. cit.*, p. 521; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 41; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 384, with maps on pp. 384 and 393; Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, pp. 63-66, 67, note; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

(196) Arricivita, *op. cit.*, pp. 488 and 524-529; Saravia, *op. cit.*, no. 46; Engelhardt, *Franciscans in Arizona*, p. 182; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-251.

(197) Bringas, *Sermon*, pp. 14-15.

(198) *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

(199) *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, LI (December, 1932), pp. 322-328, mentioned in this account is also a secular Franciscan Tertiary, Anacleto Gonzales Flores, thirty-six years old, who became a martyr on

the First Friday in April, 1927. Cf. also "Mexico's Martyrs," *Franciscan Herald*, XXI (1933), 47-48 and 63-64.

(200) Mendieta, pp. 187, 268, 605, 607; Torquemada, pp. 25, 153, 154, 254, 424-426; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 200; the writer's articles mentioned in note 168.

(201) Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

(202) Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

(203) Espinosa, *Chronica Apostolica*, Book V, Chapters I-V, on the work among the Talamanca Indians, and Chapters XXXVIII-LI, a biography of Fr. Pablo Rebullida; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

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